# THE SPANISH PEOPLE

## THEIR ORIGIN, GROWTH, AND INFLUENCE

BY

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"Santiago y Cierra España!"

*WITH INDEX AND BIBLIOGRAPHY*

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# THE GREAT PEOPLES

THE aim of the present scheme is to give in a series of well-printed, clearly-written, and readable volumes a view of the process by which the leading peoples of the world have become great and earned their title to greatness; to describe the share each has contributed to the common stock of what, for a better term, we call civilization. It will, for instance, try and show how populations such as dwelt in the lands we now call France and Spain gradually came to be peoples with peculiar and characteristic nationalities of their own, and how all through the progress of their development they influenced other peoples materially, morally, and mentally, whereby certain elements of our own present-day lives and circumstances may be accounted for.

It is, in fact, not so much a set of political or military or even social histories as a sequence of readable studies on the tendencies and potencies of the chief peoples of the world that this series will strive to present.

The various volumes have been written by experts; for experience proves that when the man who knows his subject can write, he writes far better than the man who does not know his subject first-hand, but merely borrows from those who do.

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# INTRODUCTION

An attempt is made in this book to trace the evolution of a highly composite people from its various racial units, and to seek in the peculiarities of its origin and the circumstances of its development the explanation of its character and institutions, and of the principal vicissitudes that have befallen it as a nation.

There are several reasons which render this process less difficult and more interesting in the case of the Spaniards than in that of any other of the epoch-making races of Europe. Situated at the extreme western point of the continent, the Iberian peninsula received in each case the last wave sent out at the highest point of vigour by the successive influences which pervaded Europe from the ancient East. Each race, each civilization, which in turn reached this ultimate peninsula could get no farther, and there had, of necessity, to stand, fight, and finally to fall, before the dispensation that supplanted it. Spain consequently became, not only the battle ground upon which was decided the form into which modern civilization should be moulded—whether Aryan or Semite, Christian or Moslem—but also the spot where the traces and traditions of each succeeding system lingered long after its onward impetus was spent. The country thus

became the preserver and transmitter to the modern world of many survivals of vanished ancient systems, and the culture of Spain itself was, in some sense, an epitome of the various rival systems that in historic times have divided the world.

The physical conformation of the country aided this process of conservation. Shut in from the rest of Europe, except at two points, by an almost inaccessible barrier of mountains, and scored over the greater part of its face by isolated valleys, difficult of access one from another, the separate regions into which Spain is geographically divided remained ethnologically distinct to an extent unknown in any of the other larger nations, and retained characteristic features of ancient races ages after they had disappeared elsewhere. Celts, Afro-Semites, Greeks, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Teutons, Franks, Goths, and the mingled hordes of Islam, in turn flooded the land, and in the countless valleys, hidden deep amid the savage spurs and ranges, there remained when the flood subsided a residuum of each inundation. The extent to which each invasion dominated a given region, is therefore easily traceable in the character and features of the inhabitants to-day; and the influence of race traditions upon historical events can be followed by the development of institutions in the various parts of the country. For the philosophical historian the study of the origin and progress of the Spanish people, therefore, provides an invaluable object lesson, by which the concatenation of cause and effect in the life of nations may be demonstrated, and the development of other European nations the better understood.

Although at first sight the early history of the Spanish people may appear hopelessly complicated, as presenting the form of a number of concurrent histories of different peoples possessing but little in common with each other, a close consideration of the aggregate national movement will show that there are certain characteristics more or less conspicuous in the whole of the Iberian peoples, and that these common characteristics, derived from the numerically predominant root races, have invariably been appealed to on the comparatively few occasions when the whole nation has been moved by one united inspiration.

On the other hand, the progress of the Spanish people generally—and especially in the matter of their institutions—assumed a regional character. This has aided the geographical causes in preventing the complete fusion of the peoples, and has retarded the organization of the nation on the usual modern lines of unity of race and soil; because the separate regional units have retained traditions of their primitive institutions and have resisted political absorption, as strongly as their circumstances have run counter to ethnological amalgamation. This explains the strong centrifugal tendency of some of the regions of the peninsula, a tendency which provides a key to many historical events which would otherwise be incomprehensible.

This want of unity between the component parts of the nation would, in ordinary cases, have prevented Spain from exercising a controlling political influence in the world; but there are reasons peculiar to the race which made it possible for this group of antagonistic little peoples to bulk before the world as a very Colossus, and to wield an imperial sway

which, for a time, reduced all other modern powers to pigmies. It is the business of this book to portray the origin and development of these special racial qualities, and to show how this disunited people were able by virtue of them to be swayed to great united action, and then, when the common inspiration had passed, to fall again into disintegration and impotence.

Gifted with a vehement vividness of imagination and floridness of word surpassing that of the Italians of the south, and derived from similar sources, the Spaniards, nevertheless are endowed with certain characteristics of their Afro-Semitic root race, which, except in times of uncontrollable excitement and social decadence, keep in check the bubbling vivacity of the southern Latin. The keynote of this primitive racial character is overwhelming individuality; and all that the Spaniards have done in the world, their transient imperial greatness, and their permanent tenacity, is owing to this quality in its various manifestations.

For the Spaniard, until historically recent times, Spain was no fatherland; it is only so in a very limited sense to this day. The real fatherland of the Spaniard was his town, or the particular fold in the hills that formed his world. His countrymen were not those who spoke a similar tongue on the other side of the mountains, but those who made common cause with him on this side. The central thought of each man was his own independence of his fellows, and there was no subject in common to melt their personal pride into one mass. Then came the Roman, and infused during the centuries of his domination a glowing pride into each Spaniard's heart that he—the individual—was a part of the

splendid empire whose eagles he carried in triumph from the Danube to far Caledonia. Under this impetus Spaniards became great—not as Spaniards, but as individual citizens of mighty Rome. Marcus Aurelius, Trajan, and Hadrian, the best of Roman emperors, were men of Spanish blood and birth. Martial, Quintillian, Seneca, Lucan, and other Spaniards were as illustrious in Latin letters as their countrymen were as commanders of armies and organizers of states. But Rome fell, and Spain fell with her, for there was no cohesion apart from the common pride in the mother-state which had formed the temporary bond.

When later the Goth infused fresh vigour for a time in decadent Roman Spain, fervid Christianity knitted the men of Spain together, and again personal pride was the adhesive. To belong to the equal brotherhood before the divine throne made the Iberian slave equal to the proudest Gothic noble. Each man became great in his own eyes because he formed part of the elect whom God regarded with special individual care; and again all Spaniards looked to one governing power. But this time the governors were priests. A theocracy with a puppet king was a bad organization to defend a nation from the inrush of a conquering people, and the theocracy was pushed back by the Moors to the extreme corner of the kingdom, thence during eight centuries of struggle gradually to reconquer by a continued crusade the land which theocracy had lost. Greatest of all the national uprisings of the Spanish people, was that which owed its strength to the mystic spiritual exaltation founded on individual pride, which swayed all Spain in the sixteenth century, and carried the race through far South America,

facing dangers and hardships beyond human thought. Carrying in one hand the cross and in the other the reeking sword, these conquerors of heretics in Europe, and of infidels in the distant unknown West, were saints especially chosen by the Lord to do His work. Murder and rapine were not murder and rapine to them, for to them all things were licit, because each individual was set apart under the divine inspection, and was himself distinguished by the Lord. There was no withstanding such a feeling as this; and it was the moral greatness born of spiritual exaltation, which gave Spain a predominance far greater than was warranted by her material resources or her real national standing at any time.

The feeling of individuality, upon which the sentiment was based, lay deep down in the root of the race, but cunning politicians deliberately turned it to the advantage of their ambitions. The bigotry inspired by the persecution of minorities, the cruelty of the Inquisition, which sickened the heart of the world and shamed humanity, were only so many means to an end. They inflamed the individual pride of each Spaniard of the majority in his own orthodoxy and his superiority over heretics, Jews, and Moors, and they welded the nation into a solid weapon, which might be used by the artful hand of the king or Cæsar for his own ends. But the bond was a temporary one, for human thought cannot be enchained for ever; and Spain fell back into atoms, once more to begin the work of consolidation on more permanent bases.

The contributions of Spaniards to the mass of the civilization of the world have been great. Their share in the civilizing mission of the Roman Empire, and their serv-

ice to the Latin literature, which in the progress of their decadence they corrupted and degraded, were in the best days of Rome immense. The aid lent by Spanish soldiers, and especially by Spanish weapons, both to the Punic hosts and the Roman legions, contributed no small part to the heroic battles which finally insured the triumph of the Roman and the Aryan in Europe. The preservation and continuance in operation of the Roman system of jurisdiction in Spain, after the final disappearance of the Roman dominion, kept alive for the subsequent benefit of other nations, the principles upon which the civilized codes of to-day are based; whilst the fostering in Moslem Spain of the learning of the Greeks and the science of the Eastern peoples, preserved for later ages priceless treasures, which otherwise would have been lost to the world. And again, in the later days, evil as was the use to which rulers turned it, the mystic devotional chivalry of Spaniards of the middle ages, the idea of eager sacrifice for Christ, infused into Europe generally a purer and more altruistic ideal of religious duty than was becoming prevalent under the sensuous and beauty-seeking influence of the Italian Renaissance. For this the world is Spain's debtor; and the debt is increased when we turn to the literary contributions of Spaniards to the world's wealth. The modern stage to a great extent owes its renaissance to Spanish genius, just as the modern novel of adventure may be traced to Don Quixote and Lazarillo de Tormes. These, and many other contributions of Spaniards to the civilization of modern Europe, are set forth in detail in the pages of this book; but the main object has been to describe the development of a whole people, and to trace their vicissitudes to primitive

causes. The book has been written with no idea of superseding or displacing ordinary histories, but only with the desire of supplementing and explaining them; and although in some portions of the work more space has been given to dynastic and political events than was desired, it has been found necessary, in order to make the events that followed intelligible. I can only beg for indulgent judgment of a book so full of detail and of controversial points as this must necessarily be, and I trust that this story of the progressive evolution of a sympathetic and epoch-making people may commend itself to the student as well as to the general reader.

MARTIN A. S. HUME.

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# THE SPANISH PEOPLE

## CHAPTER I

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More than eleven hundred years before the birth of Christ the ships of Tyre and Sidon, groping their way from headland to headland along the north African coast, came to the gates of the world that led out of the Mediterranean into the immeasurable unknown. The vessels themselves were little better than frail open boats propelled by oar and sail, but the crews were of the indomitable race of Shem, whose function in the world it was to carry ever farther west the ancient civilizations of the East, and to bring back from the farthermost corners of the known earth the raw material for the luxury and splendour of the Pharaohs.

The poorness of their own cramped little land of Phœnicia had driven them to the sea for a livelihood and had made them, as they were, traders, mariners, and middlemen, whose commercial colonies were dotted all over the Mediterranean coasts and islands. From the sea, too, they had wrung the secret which provided them with their own special article of barter, whose beauty enabled them to cajole from the

primitive peoples with whom they dealt the natural products and precious metals for which the Egyptians and Assyrians yearned. The spiky sea snails, whose crushed bodies dyed their cloth the rich Tyrian purple which added to the magnificence of emperors and dazzled the eyes of savages, had made the Phœnicians wealthy; but new markets and new supplies were ever needed; and, pushing through the straits into the ocean, they set up in 1100 B. C. their first peaceful Spanish colony, which they called Gadeira or Gadir (Cadiz), under the special protection of Melkarth (Hercules), the favourite god of the Tyrians, who had now supplanted the Sidonians as leaders of the Phœnician federation.

They found in possession of the land a people of strongly marked character, the impress of whose peculiarities is still deeply stamped upon the Spanish race after three thousand years of such varied intermixture as no other population in Europe has undergone. Whence the Iberians came has always been, and must remain, a matter of dispute. That they, like the Celts, were a branch of the great Indo-European family, and had spread along the south of Europe from the slopes of the Caucasus, was long held as an article of faith by scholars whose opinions were worthy of respect; but more recent investigations tend somewhat to shake belief in this theory. That they were a dolichocephalic (long-headed) race of short stature and very dark complexion, with plentiful curly black hair,* is certain, and they probably inhabited the whole of Spain in the neolithic age, either as successors of a still earlier race—of which it is possible that the Basques, who still form a separate people in the north of Spain and southwest of France may be the survivors—or as the primitive inhabitants dating from the prehistoric times when Africa and Europe, and possibly also America, were joined by land. In any case, what is known of their physique seems to negative the supposition that they were of Indo-Euro-

* "*Colorati vultus et torsi plerunque crines.*"—Tacitus.

pean or Aryan origin; and to find their counterpart at the present time, it is only necessary to seek the Kabyl tribes of the Atlas, the original inhabitants of the African coast opposite Spain, who were driven back into the mountains by successive waves of invasion. Not alone in physique do these tribes resemble what the early Iberian must have been, but in the more unchanging peculiarities of character and institutions the likeness is easily traceable to the Spaniard of to-day. The organization of the Iberians, like that of the Atlas peoples, was clannish and tribal, and their chief characteristic was their indomitable local independence. Warlike and brave, sober and light-hearted, the Kabyl tribesman has for thousands of years stubbornly resisted all attempts to weld him into a nation or subject him to a uniform dominion, while the Iberian, starting probably from the same stock, was blended with Aryan races possessing other qualities, and was submitted for six centuries to the unifying organization of the greatest governing race the world ever saw—the Romans; and yet, withal, even at the present day, the main characteristic of the Spanish nation, like that of the Kabyl tribes, is lack of solidarity.

From the earliest dawn of history the centre of Spanish life, the unit of government, the birthplace of tradition, and the focus of patriotism have been the town. A Spaniard's *pueblo* means infinitely more to him than his town means to an Englishman or a Frenchman. With the Spaniard the idea of the state—of the nation—is superposed upon his more ancient traditions; in the Iberian heart of him his *pueblo* comes first, and then, far after, his province, and, last of all, Spain. It may be argued that much of this dominant regional feeling, which lies at the root of all Spanish political problems, has been caused by the physical conformation of the country; split up by numerous mountain ranges into small divisions, by which intercommunication has been rendered difficult, local jealousies perpetuated, and the fusion of

races retarded; and this, it may be admitted, has produced its effect. But the Atlas tribes, with whom no Aryan ideas of state government have interfered, maintain in full vigour the same feeling as the Spaniard toward the town. Centuries of Roman administration broke up the tribal organization of the Iberians, which the Kabyls still retain, and substituted for it the idea of a centralized state, but on both sides of the Mediterranean the smallest unit of local government remains practically untouched from prehistoric times. The *djemáa* and the *pueblo*, respectively, are the centres around which life revolves; the elected *amin* and the elected *alcalde* remain, as they always have been, the first and ever-present unit of authority. No master race has succeeded in welding the Kabyls, Touaregs, and Berbers into a state, as the Romans did with the mixed Iberians and Celts; and in Spain to the present day, with its numberless paper constitutions and its feverish political experiments, the *pueblo* keeps its practical independence of a centralized government, which has federated *pueblos* into provinces, but has never absorbed or entirely destroyed the primitive germ of local administration. The village granary (*posito*) still stands in the Spanish village, as its counterpart does in the Atlas regions; the town pasture and communal tillage land continue on both sides of the straits to testify to the close relationship of the early Iberians with the Afro-Semitic races, which included the Egyptian or Copt, the Kabyl, the Touareg, and the Berber. The language of the Iberians has been lost, but enough of it remains on coins of the later Celtiberian period to prove that it had a common root with Egyptian and the Saharan tongues, which extend from Senegal to Nubia on the hither side of the negro zone.* With all this evidence before us we may be forgiven for doubting the correctness of the theory which ascribes a Caucasian origin to the primitive Iberian people.

* The original idea of the written character was apparently moulded upon the Phœnician, though little can now be deciphered.

Long before the dawn of recorded history, while mankind was hardly emerging from the neolithic stage, a vast incursion of Celts had come from the north and poured over the western Pyrenees into Spain.* Finding the first provinces they reached occupied by the Iberians—or perhaps even by the remains of a still earlier race whose descendants still inhabit them—the Celtic invaders directed their course to the west, and took possession of the whole of what now is Portugal and Galicia, where their blood is still dominant. The newcomers were fair in complexion, very tall and strong, and much more advanced in knowledge than were the Iberians; while the need of obtaining food in their peregrinations had made them a pastoral and, to some extent, an agricultural people.

Through long unrecorded ages of tribal and local struggles these semi-savage peoples lived, fought, and died. On the great elevated table-land which occupies the centre of Spain the races came together, and gradually amalgamated; the northwest and west of the country still remaining mainly Celtic, while in the south and east the Iberian blood predominated. By the time that the Phœnicians established their

*I am led to this conclusion by a most interesting series of discoveries recently made in an ancient copper mine excavated on the side of Mount Aramo, near Oviedo, in Asturias. The workings are very extensive, and a considerable number of polished stone hammers and needles, horn picks, etc., have been found, but no iron or metal instruments. Sixteen skeletons have come to light, and from the great difference in the size of the bones and the shape of the skulls, it is evident that they belong to two different races, which have worked the mine in succession; a fact also proved by the smelting in one case being much more perfect than the other, and the pottery and wooden instruments near the larger skeletons being superior to those found in the workings of the smaller folk. Both races appear simply to have picked out the nodules of native copper for use, and to have been ignorant of the process of reducing the ore. I am led by these facts to the conclusion that the Celts must have arrived in Asturias in the transition period between the stone and bronze ages, when the knowledge of mining was confined to the picking out and melting of soft native copper.

colony at Cadiz the Celtiberians on the Mediterranean coasts had attained a considerable knowledge of agriculture, and were adepts at smelting iron and other metals, while the tribes in the inaccessible interior were still to all intents and purposes barbarians, constantly engaged in tribal warfare, in which, in cases of emergency, the women fought by the side of the men. The admixture of Celt and Iberian was an ideal one for the production of a fighting race. The Celtic love of home and kindred, the powerful frames hardened by long sojourn in cold climates, and the highly strung poetic imagination engendered by a previous pastoral nomadic life made the Celts fierce and fervent protectors of their own; while the Iberians, agile, daring, active, and enduring, with an overwhelming sense of individuality and independence, infused into the amalgamated race the element of personal pride in struggle and the conquest of an opponent, apart from the object of the contest.

This was the race, still imperfectly fused, that the Phœnician merchant-mariners found in possession of the Peninsula when they first set up their permanent establishment on the coast. But it was not the race that brought the men of Tyre flocking over to Spain after their brethren, to found other colonies besides Cadiz all along the south and east coast of the Peninsula. The vast fertile alluvial valleys of the Guadiana and the Guadalquivir, in the estuaries of which the first Phœnician settlements were made, gave rich pasture to flocks of sheep whose wool was the finest the newcomers had ever seen; the dwarf oaks on the hillsides within view of the sea, abounded with those curious and mysterious little black, shining excrescences, of which the Persians made the splendid scarlet dye that ran the Tyrian purple so hard in the markets of the East; the Bay of Cadiz swarmed with tunny fish of a delicacy and size unknown before, and the salted tunny of Gadeira thenceforward for centuries shared with the pickled eels of Tartessus, at the mouth of the Gua-

dalquivir, the admiring suffrages of the Greek and Syrian gourmets.

Nor was this all, for the Phœnicians found in the soil of Iberia vast stores of precious metals which made the Tyrians of Spain the richest people in the world. The quicksilver and cinnabar of Almaden, the silver, the gold, the copper and tin which served to provide the all-pervading bronze, the pearls, the corals, and the precious stones of the favoured land enabled the Phœnician colonies of Spain to vie in wealth, if not in power, with the mighty Carthage, their brother and rival on the opposite coast.* But if the Phœnicians took much wealth from Spain, they brought to it what was worth more than wealth—the science of writing in letters, which, like all Semitic people, they wrote from right to left, and in this were followed by the Celtiberians. Other things they taught the receptive barbarians among whom they lived. Lighthouses and landmarks, like the tower of Hercules at Corunna, were erected by them on the coast; the art of working, refining, and manufacturing metals spread from the colonists to the native tribes; and, in the course of time, the fine wools of Betica were manufactured by busy weavers in Spain itself, and sent, already dyed with the brilliant scarlet of the Iberian kermes, to Greece and Syria, to Rome and Carthage, and even to far-off Gaul and the "Tin Isles" beyond.

Thus for six hundred years the isolated Phœnician factories on the Iberian coast gradually and insensibly introduced the first germs of wealth and refinement into the life

* Some of the Greek writers seem to exaggerate the wealth of the Spanish mines to the extent of saying that the Phœnicians of Iberia cast their anchors of gold, and that the Carthaginians when they arrived in Andalusia were surprised to find the mangers and household vessels made of the same precious metal (see Antigüedades de España, by Ambrosio de Morales, Alcala, 1577). But several large dishes, bowls, etc., in gold and silver of Phœnician and Carthaginian times have been found in Spain, and are described in "Spanish Industrial Art" by J. F. Riaño.

of the people. The Greeks had simultaneously established themselves in colonies in the northeast of Spain, at Rhodas (now Rosas), the Balearic Isles, and later at Emporium (Ampurias), Denia, and Sagunto, and brought their share to the infant civilization of Spain. In neither case did the colonists come in the form of warriors or conquerors. The factories were protected by strong walls and stockade defences, and no attempt was made for centuries to subdue or govern the inland tribes. The Celtiberians of the coast in the course of time adapted their modes of life to those of the Phœnicians and Greeks who had settled in their midst, but a vast difference existed in the influence exerted respectively by the two colonizing nations. The Phœnicians, simply traders and in constant touch with their mother country, and in later times with Carthage, rarely identified themselves permanently with the country of their abode; while the Greeks, who were driven to form colonies, not primarily by greed of gain, but by political convulsions, frequently broke off all dependence on their mother country, except in religious affairs, and went their own way as self-governed communities in the new land of their choice. The influence, therefore, of the Phœnicians over the Celtiberians was mainly material, while the Greeks, who were much more sympathetic to the natives, in course of time infused into the latter political, religious, and moral ideas * which took root and produced important fruit.

At length, some five hundred years before Christ, the Phœnicians of Cadiz attempted to penetrate into the interior of the country beyond the zone of the coast tribes, and, prob-

* The government of the Greek colonies, at first oligarchical, was at a later period democratic and elective, the general assembly of citizens choosing a small number as an executive power. This institution greatly resembled the Iberian organization, and some of its procedure was adopted by the natives. The Greeks also brought a more attractive mythological form of religion than the Phœnicians, and the deeply devotional imaginative Celtiberians seized upon the sensuous and poetical system which made their religion enter into every act of their lives.

ably without desiring it, came into collision with the Celtiberians of the interior. The native tribes, constantly at war among themselves, had by this time received sufficient Greek culture to recognise the wisdom of federation against a common enemy, and, united, swept down upon the Phœnician settlements on the coast with fire and sword. Gadeira itself was in danger, and the vast riches of the other Tyrian colonies were already being squandered by savage hordes who had driven the Semitic merchants from their homes and country houses, when in desperation the Phœnicians cast about for help against their assailants. Tyre was far away, already in the toils of the Assyrians, and overshadowed by its great African colony, which Dido and the Tyrian aristocrats had founded centuries before; so the trembling traders of Gadeira were fain to send swift galleys skimming through the straits to their kinsmen at Carthage, begging them to come to their aid. The Carthaginians had long been jealous of the riches gained so easily by their unwarlike cousins across the sea, and having, in response to the invitation, repelled the Celtiberian tribesmen, in the first instance to impress them with their power, promptly enlisted them as irregular allies, and seized for themselves the Phœnician settlements in Spain. Cadiz alone held out and opposed a stubborn resistance, but at length the last Phœnician bulwark fell, and the more enterprising and warlike Carthaginians became masters in their kinsmen's stead. This was a people whose qualities soon won the hearts of the valiant Celtiberians, and for two hundred and fifty years the prosperous coast colonies of Spain furnished Carthage with the means which enabled her to aspire to universal dominion and to spread her influence from Britain to Nubia. Although during this first period of their domination the Carthaginians visited all parts of the Peninsula, they made no attempt at imposing a government upon the tribes. Celtiberians enlisted in plenty in the Punic legions, and their

finely tempered steel swords and lances of Bilbilis (near the modern Calatayud) were of such excellence that no helmet or buckler could withstand them;* but the Carthaginians, like their Phœnician cousins before them, were content for two and a half centuries to use Spanish mines as a source of revenue and to leave the Celtiberians to govern themselves in their own way, so long as they would man their armies against the Romans.

But the end of the first Punic war, which the Romans had carried into Africa, was disastrous to the Carthaginians; and the vast army of mercenaries, mutinous, unpaid, and discontented, revolted on their return to Carthage; one of the most sanguinary civil wars in history being the result. The mercenary revolt was crushed and drowned in seas of blood, and out of the reek there emerged a great statesman and soldier who had directed the massacre. The disasters of the Punic war and the subsequent civil contest had split into two parties the leaders of Carthage. On the one side the great Hamilcar Barca headed the militant party, and advocated territorial extension in Europe, in order that Rome might be threatened at her own gates; while the peace party, led by Hanno, desired a return to the old Phœnician tradition of trade expansion and purely commercial activity, without burdening the republic with the responsibility of widespread dominion. After a struggle the Carthaginian Senate were gained to the side of Hamilcar, and Spain instead of Africa became the base of Carthaginian operations against Rome. There was good reason for this. The Celtiberians had proved themselves in the first Punic war infinitely better soldiers than

* Livy, Diodorus Siculus, and Polybius frequently mention both the excellence of the Iberian arms and the bravery of the native legionaries. The Celtiberians were famous horsemen (the horse was the most common device on their coins), and were largely used as cavalry both by the Carthaginians and subsequently by the Romans. No less than 20,000 Celtiberian mercenaries fought on the side of the Carthaginians in Sicily during the first Punic War

the Numidian mercenaries who had formed the bulk of the Carthaginian armies, the supply of such men in Spain was well-nigh inexhaustible, horses were plentiful, and the steel weapons of Spain were the finest in the world. The firm possession, too, of the splendid harbours on the east coast of Spain opposite Italy, and the command of the passes over the eastern Pyrenees into Liguria, threatened Rome on her most vulnerable flank; and at the first move of the Carthaginians from Africa the Romans sought to be beforehand with them, and occupied what now is Catalonia. Hamilcar with his army of Africans was received in the south by the Celtiberians of the coast with open arms. As has already been pointed out, there was probably much blood affinity between the peoples on both sides of the sea; the Carthaginians and their forbears, the Phœnicians, had lived in fair agreement with the natives for many centuries; Celtiberian tribesmen had fought in the armies of Carthage for generations, and Hamilcar and his Punic hosts were welcomed, not as invaders, but as friends. Some resistance was offered by many of the interior tribes to the advance of Hamilcar; and the Celtiberians who had grown up under the influence of the Greek colonies in the northeast sided usually with the Roman invaders, but, generally speaking, the Carthaginians had the whole of the south of Spain in their favour, and Hamilcar overawed the east with his strong Numidian garrisons. After nine years of stubborn fighting, during which the Romans were at one time rolled back from the line of the Ebro to the flanks of the Pyrenees, and the proud city of Barcelona had been founded to perpetuate the memory of the conqueror, Hamilcar Barca fell in battle, and his peaceful diplomatic son Hasdrubal succeeded him. For eight years Hasdrubal conciliated the Celtiberians and consolidated the Punic empire in Spain, and before he was murdered at the end of his short reign the whole of the south and southeast and some of the interior tribes acknowledged the light overlordship of Car-

thage,* and the first attempt at the unification of Spain as a nation was made.

A greater Barca than Hasdrubal was to endeavour to carry the process still further, but by far different methods, and to risk and lose all. Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, was twenty-six years of age when he succeeded to the dominion of Punic Spain. He had been brought up in the country from his infancy; he had married a Celtiberian wife, and in all things had identified himself with the people among whom he lived. Idolized by the soldiery, and himself one of the greatest leaders of men the world has ever seen, to him and his armies was vouchsafed the task of championing one side in the great struggle which was to decide for all time whether Rome or Carthage should rule, whether the Semite or the Aryan should direct the coming civilization of Europe. There is no space here to tell the stirring story of the Punic wars outside of Spain, but reference must be made to a few incidents of them which specially concerned the Celtiberian people.

The tribes of the northeast, and especially those within the old Greek spheres of influence, continued to resist the domination of Carthage and to clamour for Roman forces to fight their battle. It had been agreed by Hasdrubal that the territory north of the Ebro and the Greek-Iberian cities on the coast should be considered as under the protection of Rome; but an excuse was soon found by Hannibal (219 B. C.) to attack the colony of Saguntum (near Murviedro). In vain the Saguntians prayed to Rome for aid—"*Dum Romæ consulitur, Saguntum expugnatur*"—and no aid was sent. The Celtiberian was always at his best in fighting for his own *pueblo*, and the spirit shown at Saguntum, and later at Nu-

* As if to emphasize the intention of the Barcas to transfer permanently the centre of the Carthaginian empire to Spain, Hasdrubal founded with all solemnity the city of New Carthage on the east coast, now called Cartagena.

mancia, survived at Zaragoza and Gerona two thousand years afterward. For nine months Hannibal and his vast armies—it is said of 150,000 men—assailed the devoted city; and when, at length, famine rather than the sword, made surrender inevitable, Hannibal refused to grant honourable terms, and the whole of the inhabitants preferred suicide to humiliation. The proud Carthaginian conqueror entered the captured place to find nothing but ashes, ruins, and corpses to receive him.* Thenceforward it was war to the knife between Carthage and Rome. With an army of over 100,000 men, a quarter of whom were Spaniards, Hannibal performed that prodigious march of his from Spain across the Pyrenees and the Alps almost to the gates of Rome, rolling back again and again the veteran legions of the republic. Four crushing defeats in the field the Romans suffered at the hands of Hannibal, until at length the victor himself was exhausted, and the Roman Senate wisely seized the opportunity of sending a strong force under Gnæus Scipio to Spain, to prevent the despatch of re-enforcements to Hannibal, and to strike the enemy in his own land. Gnæus, landing in the extreme northeast, soon had 20,000 Iberian tribesmen under his standard to strike at the Carthaginians and their native levies. Even thus early Catalonia was ready to fight against the rest of Spain, as she has been ever since. Gnæus and Publius Scipio were at first victorious, and prevented aid being sent to Hannibal, but their forces were eventually routed, Publius falling in battle. Undismayed, the Roman Senate despatched Scipio Africanus to Spain (209 B. C.) to avenge his father, Publius, and to continue the war. More fortunate than his predecessors, he not only again stopped the despatch of Carthaginian re-enforcements, but utterly destroyed the Punic power in Spain; then, hurrying to Africa, he struck at the heart of Carthage itself.

* Accounts of the siege of Saguntum will be found in Livy, xxi; Silus Italicus, i; and Polybius, iii.

In vain the Carthaginians sued for peace; in vain Hannibal, whose first thought was for Spain, abandoned his Italian conquest and returned to Iberia, whence he was followed by Scipio (208 B. C.); in two years of constant fighting, during which the Iberian tribes changed sides with bewildering uncertainty, the armies of Rome carried all before them, and Carthage disappeared as a European power with the end of the second Punic war. But though the organized forces of Hannibal had been defeated, the Celtiberian bands were still ready to fight to the death rather than suffer the yoke which the victorious Romans now endeavoured to fasten upon them —even as two thousand years afterward the swarming Spanish guerilla bands fought the armies of Napoleon, foot by foot, in mountain passes and narrow valleys, when the organized forces of the Cortes had been swept into nothingness. Merciful as, the threadbare legend tells us, Scipio was at the capture of New Carthage, his generosity left him as soon as the disciplined Punic troops had been beaten, and the last Carthaginian post in Spain—Cadiz—had been abandoned (206 B. C.). Thenceforward the rigid rule of Rome had to be forced upon the unwilling Iberians at the sword's point.

With the arrival of Scipio Africanus and the attempt of Rome to bring the Iberians into its uniform system of government, the history of Spain as a nation may be said to commence. Before speaking of the influence exerted by the long Roman domination, it will be well to glance at the condition of the country when the Carthaginians finally left it. There is ample data in Livy, Appian, Strabo, and Polybius to allow of a fairly accurate idea being formed of the Iberian people after a few years of Roman rule. The tribes of the north and northwest, except in a few settlements on the coast, were practically barbarians, knowing nothing of the value of the precious metals or of the refinements of civilized life, while the coast tribes of the south and east had easily assimilated the arts, tastes and requirements of the Carthaginians, Romans,

and Greeks with whom they had been brought into contact.* In the south, agriculture had advanced greatly; the galleys of the Celtiberian towns were the finest in the Mediterranean; money was current,† coins being struck in all the colonies, with a Latin, Greek, or Phœnician inscription on one side and an Iberian legend on the other; the breeding of cattle and horses was carried out on a vast scale; and mining and

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* The profoundly interesting excavations made last year by M. Bonsor in the valley of the Guadalquivir (Les Colonies Agricoles Pré-Romaines de la Vallée du Betis, Paris, 1899) demonstrate that the Punic conquerors had before the advent of the Romans introduced a relatively high stage of civilization in Betica. M. Bonsor unearthed from the tumuli he explored an immense number of beautifully decorated fragments of pottery showing strong Greek influence, as well as ivory combs, plaques and tazze, arms, bronze ornaments, lamps, and other articles of the Carthaginian period, bearing figures of the winged bull, the combats with lions, and other Oriental devices, together with the beautiful decoration peculiar to the Greeks. More curious still was the great quantity of pottery found by M. Bonsor ornamented by raised geometrical patterns of great beauty and intricacy, formed by superposed lines of clay lighter than the groundwork. This pottery M. Bonsor identifies as Celtic in its origin, and of a date prior to, or very early in, the Phœnician period. As similar Celtic pottery has been found in Portugal, it will be understood that the Celtic influence, having crossed the Pyrenees, reached the south by the western seaboard. It will thus be seen that long before the arrival of the Romans a relatively high degree of civilization had been reached at least in the south of Spain. There is also in the Louvre a very beautiful life-size sculptured bust of a woman elaborately dressed and adorned in the Carthaginian fashion, which shows the influence of Greek art on Oriental traditions. This bust was found at Elche, near Alicante, in 1897.

† The first coins known to have been struck in Spain were Greek, from the famous settlement of Emporium (Ampurias). These pieces, which bore the winged horse on the reverse and a finely executed head on the obverse, were known and current throughout the coasts of the Mediterranean. The inscription in most cases consists of the word Emporium in Greek characters, but some coins have the same word in Iberic letters. Although no architectural monument of known Greek origin exists in Spain, a large quantity of purely Greek pottery is found, the characteristic ornamentation of which profoundly influenced the artistic tastes of the native peoples. The Greeks were also the first to introduce schools or academies in Spain.

metallurgy were now systematically conducted. The festive drink of the people appears to have been a fermented barley wine or beer,* and their principal amusements were competitive athletic sports, and, probably, also bull baiting.

It must be repeated that the Phœnician and Carthaginian domination was much more important from the material and racial points of view than in the matter of social growth or institutions, with which the settlers did not to any great extent interfere. During the eight or nine centuries that the coasts were held by Afro-Semites a continued intermixture of African blood had increased the already large proportion of similar elements probably possessed by the Iberian race. In the west, it is true, the Celts remained almost pure; but such social and governmental traditions as the Celt-iberians of the rest of Spain preserved, had been drawn from their Iberian ancestors, and strengthened by ages of contact with Afro-Semitic neighbours. With the exception, therefore, of the peoples surrounding the Greek colonies on the northwest—whose descendants to this day have remained quite separate in sentiment from other Spaniards—the social traditions of the Iberian were African rather than Indo-European in tendency. The problem of the Romans—as it

* The mode of life, system of agriculture, etc., of the Spanish people of the south may be seen to-day practically unchanged since Roman times in the great fertile valley praised by Strabo, and called La Vega, near Carmona. The necessary labourers are hired each year in towns and taken by the farmer to his grange; the women, even those of the farmer's own family, remaining in the town, whither the men return when the agricultural task of the season is done. The food of the peasants usually consists, as it did in the remotest times, of a breakfast of garlic soup with oil and bread, a midday meal of a sort of salad of vinegar, oil, and bread crumbs called *gazpacho*, and a supper of chick-peas with oil, bread, and wine. When the old sheep are killed in July and August stewed meat is served once a day, the whole company eating with wooden spoons out of a central dish. With the exception of the use of wine, and details of dress, little has changed in the lives of these people during recorded history.

was the problem of all subsequent rulers of Spain—was to build up an edifice of European civilization upon a Libyan and Semitic foundation. Although probably Scipio Africanus and his successors did not fully recognise the nature or complexity of the task, it will be seen in the course of these pages that the whole subsequent development of the Spanish people has been influenced by the fact of the upper strata of its civilization being of a different primitive origin from its lower strata; that the history of Spain, indeed, consists of the continued antagonism between distinct racial traditions.

The Romans saved Spain in the first instance from the further development of its institutions on tribal lines; they endowed the people with a religion and a priesthood, which the Spaniards adapted to their own primitive devotional mysticism, still so strongly noticeable among the tribes of the Atlas; they ingrafted the idea of a state upon a society consisting of separate towns; they finally made Spain more Roman than Rome; but they never altered, and could not alter, the earliest characteristics of the people: their overpowering sense of individuality, their personal independence, and their intensely local patriotism, still as conspicuous in their descendants as in the Berber tribesmen, whom no Roman civilization through seven centuries laboured to consolidate into one people. This strong sense of personal independence and regional sentiment, unmodified in the Atlas by the centralizing civilization of the Romans, preventing, as it does, the formation of an aristocracy or of a priestly caste, is sufficient to condemn a people to unprogressive impotence, and even in its greatly modified form, as still seen in Spain, where racial admixture and centralization have worked for centuries, it is at the root of much of the misfortune and backwardness which has afflicted the country for so long.

Rome lost no time in commencing its great task of organization, and only one year after Scipio's great victory (206 B. C.), regarding the whole country as a conquered pos-

session, the Romans divided the land into two proconsulships, Citerior, or hither Spain, being the east, and Ulterior, or farther Spain, the west. For two hundred years Rome wrestled with the stubborn Celtiberian tribesmen of the centre and north. Every valley, every pass, every ford, had to be won by sheer force of arms. Somewhat contrary to the usual Roman system, it was seen to be necessary to maintain in Spain great permanent garrisons, amounting to 40,000 men, who were stationed principally in Saguntum, Cadiz, and Tarraco (Tarragona). This naturally led to the existence of a large mixed Roman and Celtiberian population, and semi-Roman cities or colonies sprang up, mainly inhabited by the half-castes, such as Urbs Italica (or Julia Augusta), opposite Seville; Carteia (near Algeciras), specially founded for the offspring of Roman plebeians and Iberian mothers; and the Colonia Patricia, for a higher class, which stood on the banks of the Gaudalquivir on the site of the present Cordova. Thus, while the interior and northern tribes were still obstinately resisting absorption, the inhabitants of the coast almost eagerly, and in a very short space of time, became entirely Romanized.

Slowly, but surely, however, the eagles advanced. The fortunes of the struggle, looked at in detail, seem to vary from day to day, but the general course of the Romans was ceaselessly onward. *Ubi castra ibi Respublica.* Every succeeding camping ground became part of the state, and by 179 B. C. southern and eastern Spain had been fairly brought under Roman dominion.

The country was proverbially rich, and Rome was already growing corrupt; the pretors, eager only to grow rapidly wealthy and return to the luxury and splendour of the mother city, extorted the treasure of the natives with heartless cruelty, which kept discontent simmering and prevented the development of the country.* At length, in 154, a formidable

* The Censor Marcus Cato was sent by the Senate to take supreme command in 197, and to remedy the extortion to which the Iberians

federation of tribes, mainly Lusitanians of Celtic descent, made a determined attempt to shake off Roman control. Fulvius, the consul, with a great army was twice defeated, and his successor, Marcellus (152 B. C.), was fain to sign a treaty of peace under the walls of Numancia, which the Roman Senate refused to ratify. Marcellus, on the spot, saw better than the Senate the difficulty of conquering these brave barbarians, and accepted the tremendous bribe of 600 talents of silver from the Celtiberians to end the war. But a new general from Rome, Lucullus, disregarded the fact, and carried ruthless massacre into the centre of what now is Castile. Though he killed 20,000 citizens of one city, he in turn had to sue for peace, which the generous Celtiberians granted him on the honourable terms which he did not deserve. Galba, the pretor, in the following year (151 B. C.) distanced all his predecessors in treachery and cruelty. By an act of unexampled dishonour he enslaved the whole body of three Lusitanian tribes, and subsequently by similar falseness entrapped and massacred 30,000 refugees who had trusted to his word of honour.

Out of the myriad of nameless barbarians who suffered, fought, and died, there arose one man at this juncture whose name will live for ever. Like the peasants, such as Mina, who by force of character rose from guerilla leaders to be commanders of armies in the Napoleonic wars in Spain, Viriatus, a Lusitanian shepherd, began by heading a small band of his fugitive neighbours. To him flocked in the Estremaduran mountains other tribesmen, attracted by his boldness and success.

For ten years he held his own victoriously against all the armies and the best generals that Rome could send to subdue

were exposed. He was a Stoic whose justice was proverbial; but even he destroyed 400 towns in one year, and during his short government he sent from Spain to the Roman treasury 1,400 pounds of gold and 1,024 pounds of silver. If the just Marcus Cato acted thus, it may be imagined what would be the excesses of the ordinary greedy pretor.

him. A consummate strategist and tactician, a born ruler of men, magnanimous, honourable, self-sacrificing, and just, he was the first man of Celtiberian birth who had stood out clearly from the ranks to infuse into his countrymen an idea of united action. Before his 10,000 Lusitanians, in no less than nine general engagements the Romans were forced to retreat discomfited, and at length, by his strategy, the army of Fabius Servilianus was placed at his mercy. Instead of imitating Roman inhumanity, he accorded honourable terms, by which the beaten army was allowed to retire to Tarragona, and the whole of the territory held by the Lusitanians was to remain independent in alliance with Rome. But treachery compassed what Roman arms were powerless to effect. The treaty was broken; once more Viriatus was victorious over the brother of the defeated Servilianus, and in the feigned negotiations for peace which followed, the first Spanish patriot, Viriatus, fell by a dagger bought by Roman gold. Rome, the conqueror of Carthage, Macedonia, and Greece in battle, could only conquer Spain by murder.

The Celtiberians, without the strong personality of Viriatus to bind them together, were again split up into local bands, and submitted almost universally to the yoke of the republic. One city at least stood out. Within the weak walls of Numancia all the Celtiberians who scorned surrender to those whom they had vanquished in a dozen fights, took refuge. The town, though not a fortress, stood on the Douro, near the modern town of Soria, in a position of unusual natural strength, and could only be approached by mountain passes which could easily be defended. The city and the neighbouring tribes refused to yield, and harassed their Roman assailants with ceaseless guerilla attacks, until at length the Consul Quintus Pompeius Rufus conceded their terms of peace. As usual, the treaty was broken by his successor Popilius, and the war continued more cruelly than ever, again unsuccessfully for the Romans. A new consul with a

fresh army was despatched by the Roman Senate to bring the proud city to obedience at any cost, and he, too, gave up the task as beyond his strength. In his retreat with 20,000 men he was entrapped in a mountain pass by 4,000 tribesmen and forced to beg for terms, which were again granted by the Numancians. But Rome, who could not brook thus to be defied refused to ratify the compact, and once more the war recommenced. Three more Roman consuls in succession were defeated, and abandoned the task in despair. Still the *terror Respublicæ* remained unconquered, and Rome was fain to send her greatest general, Scipio Emilianus, to subdue this insignificant Iberian city, if not the indomitable Iberian hearts it sheltered. The siege was long and stubborn; famine and pestilence added to its horrors, and when at length, after sixteen months' close beleaguerment, all hope was gone, the Numancians did as the Saguntians had done before them—destroyed everything they possessed, and then died heroically by their own short swords of Bilbilis steel. Six thousand of the defenders were found dead in the reeking streets of the city, and Scipio the ruthless entered Rome with barely a squad of Numancian captives to grace his triumph. For fourteen years Numancia had stood firm, but when it fell all Spain but the wild Celtic northwest lay open to the Roman legions, and for the next fifty years the work of organization and administration of the country as a province of the republic went on almost uninterruptedly.

It would be an error to ascribe the stubborn Celtiberian heroism, of which Saguntum, the rising of Viriatus, and the defence of Numancia are only a few instances, to any such feeling as that which we call patriotism, or indeed alone to the pugnacity and ferocity of the Celtiberian race. No such stubborn stand was made against the Carthaginian domination as against the Romans, because the Punic traditions were more in accord with those of the Celtiberians themselves than were those of the Latin race; and the fierce fight-

ing of the natives for the first century and a half against the Romans may probably be ascribed, in part, to the unsympathetic nature of the Roman organization, and partly to the incitement of Carthaginian emissaries, who were desirous of weakening their enemy by encouraging a wasting, irregular war in Spain. After the fall of Numancia the wars waged by the Romans in Spain were not so much the result of Iberian revolt against the authority of the republic, as an extension of the civil dissensions that divided Rome itself. This change of situation, in a large measure caused by the rapid Romanization both in blood and habits of the Celtiberian people, is strongly marked in the great rebellion of Sertorius.

Sertorius, a Sabine with a Spanish mother, had been an advocate in Rome, an officer in Gaul, and a military tribune in Spain, where his half-Iberian blood and his stern justice made him extremely popular. Thence he had gone to Rome as questor and had thrown himself into the political contest which divided the city. Joining the plebeian party of Marius, he became pretor in 83 B. C., but the return of Sulla and the defeat of Marius sent him flying to Spain, already the most influential colony of the republic, with the object of organizing the Marian party there. He met with but little success, and retreating into Africa with a small body of partisans, continued to threaten the dominant patrician party in the Roman possessions. In 81 B. C. Sertorius was summoned to Spain to head the revolt against the government. Who summoned him is not quite clear, and it has usually been contended that this was another spontaneous attempt of the native Celtiberians finally to shake off the yoke of Rome. Judging, however, from the subsequent conduct of Sertorius and the changed condition of affairs in Spain caused by the great increase of the semi-Roman population, it is extremely doubtful whether this was really the case. The very numerous offspring of Roman soldiers by Iberian women were, to all intents and purposes, Romans, using the names of their

fathers, speaking their language, and observing their customs, but nevertheless were excluded from all the privileges of Roman citizens, except in special instances. It was natural in these circumstances that they should promote a revolt in which the discontent of the oppressed native Celtiberians might be employed against an administration which denied their rights, and in favour of a party leader from whom they might expect concessions.

Sertorius accepted the invitation, and the whole country of Betica (Andalusia), where Roman blood was strongest, Lusitania, where the Celts were dominant, and the Celtiberian legions in the centre of Spain almost simultaneously joined his standard.* With enormous ability and success he organized his people from his capital of Evora, cajoling the Celtiberian bands with stories of his supernatural inspiration, and infusing into them the utmost enthusiasm by appeals to their love of independence. How little Sertorius ever meant to do for the independence of the pure Celtiberians is seen by the fact that he extended no privileges whatever to them during his administration, and under the pretence of teaching them Latin culture he kept the flower of the Celtiberian youth in semi-imprisonment in his great school at Osca (Huesca). Sertorius defeated all the generals that the patrician party could send against him, and in 80 B. C. was joined by Perpenna, another Marian partisan from Sardinia, with 20,000 men. Metellus and Pompey, with all the strength of the Roman Senate at their backs, were powerless to withstand the almost universal revolt led by Sertorius, and on the retreat of Pompey into Gaul it would have been easy for Sertorius to have advanced upon Rome itself and to have brought

* The revolt of Sertorius was interesting also from an ethnological point of view, as it was the means of introducing another large infusion of African blood into Iberia. Sertorius brought 5,000 Africans with him, and a far greater number subsequently joined him. The 20,000 men brought by Perpenna from Sardinia must also have included many of the same race.

the Senate to its knees. But Sertorius was first of all a Roman, and would do nothing to humiliate the republic. His inaction at this juncture naturally offended his Celtiberian allies, and his jealous lieutenant took advantage of their discontent to head a plot by which the chief was murdered at a banquet ostensibly given in his honour (73 B. C.). During his administration Sertorius laid the foundation of a reformed organization of Spain. The deceived Celtiberians naturally seconded the efforts of the chief, who they thought was fighting for their independence, and his plans met with none of the resistance that was usually offered to Roman reforms. He divided the Peninsula into two grand divisions: Celtiberia, with its capital at Osca (Huesca), and Lusitania, with its capital at Evora. In the latter city he established a senate of three hundred members, nearly all of them of pure or mixed Roman birth; his officers, magistrates, and governors were Romans almost to a man. His great school at Osca was taught by Latin and Greek professors; his strenuous efforts to promote literature, science, and manufactures, his splendid prizes to successful students, his military, naval, and judicial organization, were all really directed toward the Romanization of Spain and its closer connection with the mother country rather than to its independence. With the death of Sertorius and the disillusionment of the Celtiberians the revolt rapidly collapsed. Pompey crushed what was left of the plebeian forces, and a few years later young Julius Cæsar marched his legions sternly through the land, even to far-off savage Brigantium, in the northwest, where for the first time the mountain Celts were made to understand that civilizing Rome was now in earnest, and that *lex Romana* must rule unquestioned wherever the eagles had stood.

And not alone to the wild tribesmen of the northwest had the lesson to be taught. The rapacious Roman officers were made to disgorge their plunder, and to their surprise the Celtiberians experienced from a pretor equal-handed justice. Ju-

lius himself had gone to Spain avowedly to obtain the funds to pay the vast debts of his riotous youth, and the treasure he sent to Rome was enormous,* as it might justly be with the almost inexhaustible resources of the country; but the peculation, extortion, and cruelty which had irritated the Celtiberians to madness formed no part of the system of the great Julius.

Of the establishment of the triumvirate in Rome and the struggle between Cæsar and Pompey for the consulship no account can be given here, except of that portion which was decided on Spanish soil. Julius was in Gaul at the head of his legions when the harsh message of the Senate reached him, proclaiming him an enemy to Rome if he did not at once disband his victorious army. Crossing the Rubicon with his legions, by forced marches he surprised and captured the mother city, and then hurried to Spain to crush the friends of Pompey who were in office there. Sweeping all before him in "hither Spain," of which the battle of Illerda made him master, he overturned the hated Varro in the south, and then carried his victorious legions to other lands. Again in 45 B. C., after Pompey's flight and death in Egypt, Julius had to return to Spain and trample down the last embers of the patrician party at the celebrated battle of Munda, which finally made him master of the world as perpetual dictator of Rome.

In these long-continued wars between Roman factions the mixed populations of Spain fought on both sides; there was no sense of a common bond between Spaniards to prevent them from killing each other in a stranger's domestic quarrel, and once more the influence of the tribal origin of the people and the physical conformation of the land, which retarded intercommunication, is seen in the absence of racial or national solidarity at a time when unity might have meant national independence.

* Almost his first act as pretor was to seize the great accumulations of riches in the Temple of Hercules.

After the murder of Cæsar and the end of the Macedonian war (42 B.C.), Octavian, the future Augustus, became supreme consul in the west. To him Spain was especially sympathetic,* and one of his earliest measures was directed to drawing closer the bonds which joined the dependency to the coming empire. The imposition of a new general tax (38 B. C.) was made the opportunity for a grouping of contributory towns and the submission of classified social groups of subjects to the various grades of Roman law.

This is usually made by historians the commencement of a new era in Spanish history, and it may fairly be stated that with the establishment of the empire (30 B. C.) the position of Spain was greatly changed. The tendency of the empire at its first inception, although military, was really far more democratic than the republic; and Augustus lost no time in increasing the number of citizens and in giving to the great colonial dominions of Rome a more popular political organization than they had previously enjoyed. Spain was divided anew into three provinces (29 B. C.). Betica (Andalusia) was now almost completely Romanized, and consequently peaceful and easily governed. This was made a senatorial province, to be ruled by civil proconsuls appointed by the Senate, although in military matters the emperor was supreme. The less settled parts of the country were divided into two great provinces: Lusitania on the west, and Tarraconensis on the east, which were governed, under an imperial legate, by military chiefs appointed by the emperor himself.

Before proceeding with the story of Spanish development under the empire, it will be useful to glance at the methods followed during the two previous centuries of republican dominion to mould the Celtiberians into the model of civilization

* He formed a bodyguard for his own person of 3,000 Celtiberians of Calahorra, and to him Cornelius Balbus, a Spaniard of Cadiz, the first foreigner to be raised to the consulate, owed his rank. Many of Augustus's principal officers in Rome were Spaniards.

which the conquering people considered to be equally adaptable to all countries from the Euphrates to remote Caledonia. The Romans had found the primitive town and village government of the Celtiberians, and the more advanced but similar organization of the Carthaginian settlements, in full force when their dominion in Spain commenced. Fortunately their own governmental traditions were those of mutual wealth and protection, or democracy, rather than of the assumption of wealth and the duty of defence by a few, or aristocracy, and they were able to engraft gradually upon the Celtiberian towns a reformed administration, without greatly interfering with the underlying idea. A difference from the first was made between the towns conquered by force of arms and those that submitted voluntarily. Important places in the latter category were made *municipalities* paying a *stipendium* to Rome, and the individual inhabitants might receive the honour of Roman citizenship, though the communities as a whole did not enjoy it until much later. The smaller towns were classed also in a similar way, those which had welcomed the Romans being least heavily taxed, and those which had been overcome with difficulty having to pay a very heavy tribute. The pretors and their questors, however, during the republican period usually extorted as much as possible from the native cities without regard to the law, although periodically emissaries were sent to Rome from the towns with bitter complaints of illegal exaction. After a few years of intermixture of races another type of city sprang up, called a colony, where pure or mixed Romans alone settled, and to these were granted the full rights of Roman citizenship. Other colonies less Roman subsequently arose, to which a lesser privilege was allowed, as in the towns of Italy, some enjoying the *jus Latii*, like those near Rome, and some the *jus Italicum*.* But in the whole of these categories of cities

* At a somewhat later period of the Roman domination further special privileges were given to favoured towns, some being declared

the same system of internal government was followed. All the free inhabitants who owned a yoke of land or more were formed into an assembly, which was collectively responsible for the government of the town and for the payment of the tribute. From this obligation no landowner could escape,* and the consequence was that, although the land was nominally the property of individuals, the community insisted upon its full cultivation, in order that every "curial" or full burgess should be able to pay his quota of the taxes. In cases where the land was poor and the tribute was high, an owner often abandoned his land and the latter became forfeit to the community. In the later corrupt times before the fall of the Roman dominion the position of curial became an intolerably oppressive one. In the colonies, and the highest grade of municipalities which enjoyed the *jus Italicum*, the assembly of landowners, or curia, elected the administrative magistrates; in the second-class cities the chief officer was a rector appointed by the Roman pretor of the district; and in the third class the executive was in the hands of the pretor himself. In each case the executive officers summoned the assembly or curia, which deliberated and decided by majority

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free from the payment of the stipendium, and others made practically independent on the condition of contributing a certain number of armed men and galleys to the mother city. In cases where no resistance had been offered to Roman occupation disputes between natives were decided according to local customary law, Roman and native assessors being called in to assist the Roman provincial governor. Similarly during the early imperial domination, the popular representative assemblies, which met annually in each province to celebrate religious feasts dedicated to the emperor, were endowed with power to review the acts of the provincial governor, and, if they thought fit, to send delegates to Rome to complain of him. This right was frequently exercised in later years.

* So strictly was this enforced that no curial was allowed to live out of the city; and only with much difficulty and strict guarantees might he enter any privileged order, or in Christian times join the priesthood. Three quarters of a curial's property went to the community if he died without children, and a quarter was confiscated if his heir was not a curial.

of votes questions respecting the distribution of the common lands, the payment of the tribute, and the finance of the community, the details of government of the city being in the hands of the executive officers. The curials enjoyed certain immunities and social consideration, and if the empire had developed on civil and senatorial lines, the system might have succeeded; but, as will be shown in the course of the next chapter, the imposition of a military autocracy (as the empire soon became) upon so democratic a base as this ended in a deadlock, and was largely instrumental in the downfall of Roman power in Spain.

It was not until the last days of the republic that any serious attempt was made—if we except the administration of Sertorius—to weld these many little tributary commonwealths into a complete provincial system. With the exception of the semi-savage tribesmen in the northwest, the tribal organization of the Celtiberians was now forgotten, and the people in the south and east had generally adopted the dress and speech of the Romans, the inhabitants of the *colonies*, Cordova especially, being already distinguished for their refinement and love of Latin literature.* The formation of the three provinces already mentioned, into which Spain was divided, was therefore accepted as a natural measure of administration by a people who, having abandoned the tribe, were now ready for another form of federation. Each province was subdivided into three or four districts (*conventus juridici*), the capital of each district being the seat of the civil, local, and military authorities, dependent upon the imperial or senatorial legate in the provincial capital. Thus at the commencement of the Roman Empire the administrative

* Metullus, after he had finished the suppression of the Sertorian revolt, took with him to Spain certain poets from Cordova whose language was praised even by Cicero, the only fault he could find with it being the pronunciation of Latin—"*Pingue quiddam, adunque peregrinum*"—somewhat thick and strange.

framework for governing Spain, its principal colony, as a civilized country was complete.

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1100 B. C. TO 27 B. C.

*Summary of progress during this period*

The Phœnicians and Greeks had brought to the people the arts of civilization, a knowledge of written characters, of the use of money, of the cultivation of the soil, of the rearing of flocks for wool, of dyeing cloth, of the systematic mining, smelting, and tempering of metals, and to some extent also the æsthetic arts of painting, sculpture, mosaic, and ceramic decoration.

The Romans had carried the instruction further in these respects, but their influence is also particularly marked in the organization of the country as a whole, which the Punic occupiers had not attempted. The constantly warring clans and the larger tribal communities had now been brought under some degree of control by means of the provincial federation and organization, and by the ever-present Roman tax collector; and, with the exception of the tribes of the north and northwest, had to a great extent adopted the Latin tongue and garb. The south of Spain had become completely Romanized, and fine buildings, temples, and palaces had already grown common in the "colonies" and principal coast towns. The Roman colonies and coast towns mentioned in the text were now connected by constructed highways, were supplied with public baths, and surrounded by walls instead of stockades, as they had been in earlier times.

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*Summary of what Spain did for the world in this period*

The wools and cloths of the deltas of the Guadalquivir had become famous throughout the world, especially when dyed with the scarlet kermes from the woods on the slopes of the coast range. The steel blades of Bilbilis and the shields and armour from the same place were highly prized by Roman soldiers, while the Celtiberian Spaniards themselves had proved, both in their home wars and in the service of the Punic generals and of the

Roman Republic, that they were fighting men of exceptional valour and endurance, contributing not a little to the spread of civilization that followed the Roman standards throughout central Europe. At the period of which we are writing (the establishment of the Roman Empire) already the mother city was drawing from Spain much of the material luxury which was enervating her peoples—the silver, the jewels, the pearls, the fine stuffs, the fruits, the wine, the oil, the grain, the potted tunny fish,* etc., which were sent in abundance from Betica, Cartagena, and Tarragona to the Roman ports.

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* One of the most highly prized exports from Spain was the condiment, so dear to the gourmet of Rome, called *garum*. This was made (mostly at Carteia, near Gibraltar) of the intestines of certain small fish macerated in salt.

# CHAPTER II

## A NEW DISPENSATION—IMPERIAL ROMAN AND GOTHIC SPAIN

Organization of Roman Spain—Influence of Spaniards upon Latin literature—The Spanish Cæsars—Decadence of Roman civilization in Spain—Christianity in Spain—Its influence on the character of the people and institutions—Fall of the empire—The coming of the Goths—Influence of Gothic traditions upon Spain—The elective monarchy—The triumph of Romanism over Arianism—The Code of Alaric—Literature and art in Spain under the Goths—The councils of prelates—Theocracy—The landing of the Moors.

THE great Julius had punished, but had not entirely subdued, the tribes of the mountainous northwest, and the frontiers of the imperial provinces of Lusitania and Tarraconensis were subject to the frequent incursions of these barbarians. It doubtless appeared easy to Augustus to suppress this handful of mountaineers, and soon after his assumption of the imperial dignity he came personally to extend to farthest Finisterre the network of Roman administration.

Fixing his headquarters at first at Segisamo, between Burgos and the Ebro, he sent two divisions of his army against the Cantabrians and the Asturians respectively; but his task was more difficult than he expected—even as Napoleon found his long afterward—and Augustus retired in discouragement to Tarraco, leaving his generals to carry on the desultory warfare which, after many disappointments and partial victories, ended in the exhaustion rather than the submission of the tribes. But large permanent garrisons were

stationed on the frontiers at Astorga, Braga, and at Pisoraca, south of Santander, hemming in the fastnesses of the barbarians and rendering the tribes powerless against the settled parts of the country. New towns sprang up under the encouragement of Augustus where his garrisons were stationed. *Emerita Augusta* (Merida), *Asturica Augusta* (Astorga), *Bracara Augusta* (Braga), *Lucas Augusti* (Lugo), *Cesaria Augusta* (Zaragoza), *Pax Augusta* (Badajoz), and *Urbs Septima Legionis* (Leon) all received their baptism and special privileges from Augustus, and became so many centres of Latin propagation and culture, which within a very short time made the populations of the centre and north almost as Roman as those of the south had been for several generations. Thenceforward, for four centuries, the fortunes of Spain, politically and socially, followed those of the empire. Our principal concern here, however, is with the effect produced by the Roman connection upon the development of the Spanish people.

The primitive Iberian tongue with its semi-Phœnician-Hebraic letters was rapidly forgotten, and Spain rang from end to end with what Saint Augustine called the *odiosa cantio* of native children learning Latin, still, it may be presumed, pronounced in a way which offended somewhat the finer ears of the fastidious scholars in Rome, but affording a fit vehicle for the copious expression of this extraordinary composite race, whose earliest manifestations of civilization took the unusual forms of literary activity and mental subtlety. The introduction of this new luxuriant element into Latin culture happened at a critical juncture in the life of the latter. The literature which the Romans had founded upon that of Greece had reached its highest native expression in the later years of the republic; the establishment of the empire not only curtailed the employment of oratory and polemic, but gave to the great colonies an importance which under the former *régimes* they had never enjoyed. Rome was crowded with

men from the farthest confines of the empire; Gauls, Spaniards, and Africans surrounded Augustus as courtiers, parasites, and officers; foreign-born consuls governed provinces; colonial statesmen even invaded the Senate; and in a few years one Spanish-born Cæsar after the other ruled the world from Rome. It was inevitable, therefore, that Latin culture should receive new colour from the fresh influences which the empire introduced into the heart of the Roman system. In a literary sense, by far the strongest of the new composite races evolved from Roman occupations was the Neo-Celtiberian, and during the age of Augustus it introduced into Latin literature the luxuriant copiousness of word, the mordant satire, and the perverse subtlety which remain to this day the irrepressible characteristics of Spanish intellectual production. But though the introduction of this luxuriant growth, with its declamatory vehemence and its reckless riot of imagery, seemed for a time to give new vigour to already decadent Latin literature, it brought with it the seeds of the rank undergrowth which choked the flowers; and both in literature and in social life the decline and fall of Roman civilization, though originating from causes inherent in the civilization itself, were aided largely by the peculiar qualities of the Celtiberian race, which from the time of Augustus to the coming of the Goths exercised so powerful an influence over Roman culture. Beginning at first with the sober comments on Virgil written by Augustus's Spanish freed slave Julius Hyginius, chief keeper of the Palatine Library at Rome, and with the collections and criticisms of oratory of the elder Seneca (also a Spaniard), the manifestation of the peculiar Iberian spirit rapidly comes to the front in the wise but wordy pomposity of the younger Seneca, the oratorical and luxuriant beauty of the Pharsalia of Lucan of Cordova, the satirical wit and shameless effrontery of Martial of Bilbilis, and the critical subtlety and well-balanced wisdom of Quintillian of Calahorra. Roman literary exquisites might

ridicule the provincialisms which marred the purity of Latin style—nay, even the greater Spanish Latin writers themselves, like Martial and Quintillian, endeavoured to suppress the introduction of exotic forms of expression which strangers brought into Rome—but the tide was too strong to be stemmed, and the fall in point of style from Cicero and the elder Seneca to Tacitus, and from Tacitus to the writers of later Christian Rome, was rapid and complete.

While writers of Spanish birth were introducing overflorid vigour and oversubtle preciosity into Latin literature, Spain itself was prospering exceedingly. Under the Augustan emperors Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero the rapacity of the Roman officers vexed Spain as it did the rest of the empire; but the growing luxury and growing laziness of the capital made of Spain the granary as well as the treasure house of Rome, and the wealth thus accruing to the dependency enabled it not only to hold its own, but to sow its soil with public buildings, circuses, roads, aqueducts, and bridges, of which the mighty remains still vaguely astonish the degenerate Spaniard of to-day. This was the case even in the time of the bad emperors; but to them succeeded Vespasian and Titus, and later a series of Spanish Cæsars, under whose benign rule their native land rose to its highest point of grandeur and happiness. Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius for sixty years, with but slight intervals between them, ruled wisely and well. Under them Spanish administration was still further reformed and subdivided; the oil, the wine, the corn, the salt fish, the wool, the linen, and the precious metals of Spain provided Rome with the luxury which was to enervate and ruin it.* Spanish legionaries bore

* Spain as a *provincia nutrix* was forced to send to the mother country every year a certain quantity of foodstuffs, which, in consequence of the richness of her soil, she could do easily and profitably. The payment received for these remittances was largely made in coin, and added greatly to the prosperity of the dependency and the spread of luxury in Spain itself. Guilds of handicrafts existed at this time

the eagles from the Tigris to the Tyne, and in all things but the name Spain, the daughter, was greater than Rome, the mother, from the death of Domitian to the death of Marcus Aurelius. But Spanish civilization, much as it might colour the water by its national character, drew its inspiration entirely from the Roman fountain,* and sooner or later the great dependency was bound to share the decadence which was overwhelming the metropolis. Beneficent as was the influence of Trajan and the subsequent Spanish Cæsars, their very elevation marked a considerable step downward in the political decline of the empire, for it indicated that the provincial legionaries had learned from the Pretorian Guard the evil lesson of military interference in civil government, and that the imperial throne was to become the pledge and plaything of rival soldieries. On the death of the infamous Commodus and the murder of Pertinax the struggle which was the inevitable result of this state of things took place. The Pretorian Guard in Rome put the throne up to auction, and assassinated their nominee because he was unable to pay the full price he had promised. The provincial legions then proclaimed three rival emperors, and the establishment of the military despotism of Septimius Severus was the consequence, to be followed by a century of anarchy, while the Frankish barbarians ravaged with impunity the territories of Rome and devastated some of the richest provinces of the east of Spain (256 to 268 A. D.). The rapacity of tax collectors and the corruption of the pretors were rapidly turning Spain into a desert. Caracalla had forced upon all provincial populations

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in many places in Spain, especially in Tarragona, which was famous for its fictile and textile manufactures.

* It is noticeable that of the numerous specimens of Hispano-Roman art in existence—gold and silver work, pottery, glass, and arms—none present any special character to distinguish them from Roman art found in other parts of the world. Spanish art does not appear to have taken a line of its own until after the coming of the Goths.

the burden of Roman citizenship while still extorting from them their provincial tributes, and the unfortunate *curials* of the towns were now made responsible not only for the taxes of their own municipalities, but for those of the surrounding rural districts. This meant widespread ruin, and the smaller landowners, upon whom this crushing responsibility mainly rested, abandoned by thousands their fields and holdings and sought safety in distant foreign legions or even in slavery. Their abandoned lands were bestowed upon provincial government nominees, in order that the plunder of the cultivators should be complete in the guise of the law. Under this overwhelming burden of taxation, falling almost entirely on the workers and tillers of the soil, agriculture sank to utter exhaustion, and woods and deserts covered some of the finest grain-growing soil in Europe. Great tracts of land, too, fell into the hands of Roman officers, who, in the absence of the free tenants, who had fled or been destroyed in the foreign wars of Rome, resorted to universal slave labour for the cultivation of their estates. Slavery also became the rule in Spanish towns, for handicraftsmen also had been almost crushed out of existence by taxation, and often voluntarily went into slavery to insure for themselves at least bread and shelter.

This collapse of a great civilization was not consummated without more than one effort of enlightened men to arrest the decline. Diocletian and Constantine in the beginning of the third century tried, but too late, to decentralize the government and to restore vitality to the atrophied outer members. Of the four great prefectures formed by them, that of Gaul included France, Great Britain, and Spain, and the latter country was divided into seven provinces—Betica (Andalusia), Lusitania (south Portugal), Gallæcia, Tarraconensis, Carthagenensis, Tingitana (Morocco), and Insulæ Balearum —the first three being governed by consuls, and the latter four by presidents, all of whom were responsible to the Vicar

of Spain, who in turn was subordinate to the Pretorian Prefect of Gaul, who held his almost independent court at Arles, on the Rhone. But the setting up of these great officers, sovereigns in all but name, when corruption had broken down Roman patriotism and sapped Roman honesty, only paved the way to the complete disintegration of the empire, and the swarming hordes of barbarians who assailed the Roman territories on all sides from Armenia to Gaul overran with comparative ease the semi-independent provinces left to themselves by the vicious tyrants in Rome so long as they provided money for the waste and wickedness of the capital. Another powerful factor in the dissolution of the Roman Empire, having, for reasons which will presently be explained, specially strong influence in Spain, was the establishment of Christianity as a religious and political system.

The bases of Roman social life were crumbling. From the first it had been reared on the foundation of family headship. The individual, as such, had no natural rights which the state acknowledged. The paterfamilias centred in himself all the rights and duties of the family. He was not only the chief, but the judge, the domestic priest, and the autocrat of his household. In the days of Rome's simplicity and purity, in an early stage of civilization, this worked well; but as the old gods became discredited corruption grew universal, and when the increasing number of domestic slaves led to promiscuity the institution of the family became insufficient for the protection of individuals, and a new organization of society became vitally necessary.

A somewhat similar process of declension had also proceeded in politics and philosophy. With the ever-growing provincial element introduced by the empire into Rome, and the progressively vicious effects of a military despotism, magistrates and administrators had degenerated into greedy and corrupt extortioners from whom no protection could be

expected, and the immense mass of the people were simply machines whose work provided for the unrestrained luxury of the weak and vicious few. The old religion, too, had lost its hold. The two schools of thought that divided the Roman world, the Epicurean and the Stoic, respectively offered systems which might replace the decaying faith in the pagan divinities. The sensuous materialism and frank disbelief of the Epicurean appealed to those enervated by the luxury of the age, against which the Stoic, with his frigid creed of duty, justice, forgiveness, and self-denial, without divine commandment or superhuman reward, could make no way. But with the birth of Christianity all was changed. Here was a living creed which gave to Stoicism a reason and a reward, and whispered to the ear of the slave, "the barbarian," the tiller and the craftsman: "You, too, are God's creatures, as dear to your Maker even as the proudest tyrant of them all." Not for the Jews alone, as St. Paul announced, but for all the world, was given this new charter of humanity, which struck at the very base of Roman society, deposed the paterfamilias except in the hearts of his children, and proclaimed the brotherhood of all men as equally beloved sons of the universal Father.

From the earliest days the keynote of Celtiberian feeling had been the absorbing sense of individuality, and a new evangel which gave divine warrant for the strongest instinct of the Spanish race seized upon the people as it did in no other part of the world. Whether St. James preached the new gospel in the north of Spain and St. Paul in the south or not matters but little; certain it is that during the first three centuries Christianity spread rapidly in the country; and even thus early the organization of the Church, where all else was disorganized, enabled it to wield a political power greater than it did elsewhere. Amid the general dissolution of civil authority a compact body of priests and bishops, with independent resources, a separate jurisdiction, and a common

end, became practically a state within a state.* Before the Roman power finally disappeared from Spain it had thus been reduced to impotence by the apathy of the vast body of the population, who had nothing to lose, and by the vigour and cohesion of the Spanish Christian bishops and priests, whose personal eminence made them powerful, and whose doctrine of human brotherhood and the communion of souls with God exactly suited the mystic imagination of the Celt blended with the proud independence of the Iberian.

Spain did not escape from the persecution which followed Christianity elsewhere, especially from Trajan, who knew his fellow-countrymen and understood that the triumph of Christianity meant in any case the loss of Spain to the empire. Many isolated martyrs in the first two centuries suffered eagerly for their faith; but with the awful edict of Diocletian (303) Spain for a few years was the scene of the cruel general persecutions which only added fervour to those who witnessed the constancy of the victims. At length the proclamation of Constantine at Milan (306) gave religious liberty to all Roman citizens, and the baptism of the great Theodosius before the end of the century made Christianity the religion of the Roman world. The Emperor Theodosius, a Spaniard, was the man who reunited the empire and dared to face the new order of things, endeavouring at any cost to conciliate the continuance of a power based on paganism with the reign of Christ. But Theodosius, great as he was, had the vehemence of his Iberian blood and the vicious methods of his imperial pagan traditions. While enjoining that all citizens

* In 313 the first great council of Spanish clergy met at Elvira (Granada), 19 bishops, 36 priests, and many deacons being present; and though their 81 decrees were concerned only with theology and church discipline, yet the existence of such a national assembly thus early portended the preponderance of the Church in civil affairs later. In 380 sat the great council at Zaragoza, and in 400 the first Council of Toledo assumed the functions of a national parliament and discussed civil as well as ecclesiastical matters.

should adhere to the doctrine of the Trinity as taught by Saint Peter and upheld by the pontiff Damasus, he stigmatized those who believed in other variants of Christianity as extravagant madmen, whom he "branded with the infamous name of heretic" and threatened with "the severe penalties which our authorities, guided by Divine wisdom, shall choose to inflict upon them." This true Spaniard lived three centuries too late. The corruption and decay of Rome had gone too far for her institutions to be remodelled on Christian lines. The Goths were already at her gates and the Vandals in her legions; and though Theodosius, with his Iberian recklessness of life, waded in blood to revive the dying empire with the strength of the Cross, he failed, and his death (395) was the signal for the dissolution of Rome.

Theodosius, by his will, again divided the empire between his two sons, Arcadius to rule the Byzantine empire of Constantine, and feeble Honorius that of the West. The government of the latter was disputed by another Constantine, elected emperor by the legionaries of Britain. To withstand the rebel, Honorius and his Vandal mercenary Stilicho admitted the swarming hordes of barbarians, Vandals, Suevians, and Alans across the Rhine into Gaul (406). The flood gates thus at last were open, and the power of Rome could never again turn back the invading tide. Constantine, however, easily overcame his rival emperor and soon was enthroned at Arles. Leaving the barbarian allies of Honorius to be dealt with later, Constantine pushed over the Pyrenees into Spain, for without the dependency the empire of the West would be valueless indeed. Honorius, the son of Theodosius, was a Spaniard, but for reasons that have already been stated the native populations of Spain had little concern now as to the person of the supreme governor of Rome. The disintegration and anarchy which had fallen upon the Roman world had left Spain practically with no government at all, but a succession of greedy bloodsuckers who robbed the in-

dustrious and the weak in the name of some far-away emperor, who gave neither protection nor peace in return for their exactions. Constantine therefore marched almost unresisted through Spain, and was promptly recognised by Honorius himself as emperor. But a greater task than overrunning apathetic Spain lay before him if he had dared to undertake it. Alaric the Goth was master of northern Italy, and Constantine, finding him too strong to be dealt with, retreated beyond the Rhone and was forced to content himself with the territory he had already conquered. But in his absence in Gaul anarchy broke out in Spain, where he had left his young son as regent. Gerontius, the general in Spain, proclaimed his own son emperor, with his imperial capital at Tarragona, and in an evil hour invited across the Pyrenees to help him the bands of barbarians who had crossed the Rhine to help Honorius, and whom Constantine had left behind him in Gaul.

Like a devastating flock of locusts, making no distinction between friends and foes, the tribes swept down upon Spain (409), and one of the strangest facts of history is that neither the Roman soldiers nor the Latin-Celtiberian population appear to have offered any effectual resistance whatever to their advance. No doubt their appearance was savage and their methods of warfare terror-striking, but that the Celtiberians, whose character before and since was always fiercely warlike, especially in defence of their own districts, should have tamely submitted to rapine, slaughter, and destruction by savages, proves more than anything else the utter despair which the later Roman Empire had produced upon the people. For centuries, too, the best manhood of the race had been drafted into the legions and sent to the farthest ends of the empire, in most cases never to see their native land again; and doubtless this, together with the enervating effects of Roman luxury, especially in the south and east, had to a great extent softened the race, while the fraternal and peaceful doc-

trines of Christianity may have taken spirit out of the resistance. In any case, neither Rome itself nor the native populations withstood the onward rush of the savages, and Spain, from the Pyrenees to the Pillars of Hercules, was ravaged and spoiled.

During their long wanderings from the banks of the Baltic the invaders had seen no country so fertile or beautiful as that which met their eyes as they descended the southern slopes of the Pyrenees, and the various Germanic tribes were soon fighting among themselves for the possession of the choice districts. The least numerous tribe, the Suevians, were pushed up into the mountainous northwest corner, where, with their backs to the sea, they held their own against all comers, while the more numerous Alans spread down the centre and extreme east and west, sacking and plundering as they went. The Vandals took possession of the fertile south, with its fine ports and rich valleys, and for six years (409 to 415) the tribes worked their unchecked will on Roman Spain amid slaughter, famine, and pestilence.

Alaric, the Gothic king, was master of Italy before he died, in 411, and his brother-in-law Atawulf, the new king, extended his victorious sway over Gaul, conquering the upstart Cæsars who, elected by various legions, disputed the crown with powerless Honorius; Atawulf's object being to ally himself with the family of Honorius by marrying his sister Placida, and perhaps subsequently succeeding to the imperial throne as first Visigothic emperor. But Honorius was suspicious and refused, though Atawulf had his way and married Placida without the consent of her brother. The latter then induced the Visigoth to cross the Pyrenees and reconquer Spain from the barbarians as he had reconquered Gaul for the empire. He reached only as far as Barcelona when he was murdered, as was his successor a few days afterward. The Gothic generals at Barcelona then chose Wallia as their king, who promptly crushed the barbarian tribes and loyally

handed over to the emperor at Ravenna once more the dependency of Spain, receiving for himself as a reward the kingdom of southern Gaul (Toulouse) (418). But no sooner had the Goths retired from Spain than again the Vandals became troublesome, and spreading northward attacked the descending Suevians, driving them back into their mountain fastness again. The Vandals were in turn driven back to their own Andalusia (i. e., Vandalucia) by the combined Romans and Suevians in 420, where thenceforward for seven years they held their own by land and sea. What power might eventually have been wielded by this energetic people, if they had remained in Andalusia it is difficult to say, for they were already masters of the western Mediterranean; but a disaffected Roman general in Morocco opposite begged for their aid, and nearly the whole tribe of 80,000 persons, with many Alans also, crossed the Straits of Gibraltar (429), and Spain knew them no more, though Vandal blood must have run plentifully in the wild Berbers whom, nearly three hundred years afterward, Tarik led across from Africa to conquer Spain for the Crescent.

For well-nigh forty years afterward one Gothic king of Toulouse after another gave occasional aid to successive powerless emperors to keep up a semblance of Roman power in Spain, punishing the savage pagan Suevians and repressing the warlike Alans; but during all this time no regular system of central government existed outside the imperial camps, and the slight bond of Spanish nationality again resolved itself into its primitive elements—independent autonomous towns. At last a king of Toulouse arose strong enough to ignore the shadow of Roman rule in Spain. Euric the Goth vanquished the Roman garrison of Tarragona, and thenceforward (466–484) by treaty with the emperor ruled from his capital in southern France all Spain except the Suevian north and west.

It will be useful here to pass briefly in review the new

situation created by the appearance of a fresh governing race in the Peninsula, and to consider the effect thus produced upon the making of the Spanish people. The influence of the barbarian tribes may be at once dismissed as having been very small, except in Galicia, where the mixture of Celt and Suevian produced a race which is still quite distinct in its character. The Goths, however, at the time of their appearance as a governing aristocracy in Spain had become by long contact with Romans to all intents and purposes a civilized people, whom the Spaniards received as liberators from the depredations of the barbarians, and, in some sense, as the successors of the Roman officers who had held sway over the country for so long. The Gothic governmental traditions were such as befitted a people whose existence had for centuries been warlike and nomadic, and, as will be seen, their inability to alter these traditions when they had founded a settled dominion led to their own downfall as a ruling race in the Peninsula.

It has been shown how completely the Spaniards had adopted the social usages and literary tastes of their Roman conquerors; that Latin art, science, architecture, and religion had been accepted entire without Iberian gloss or alteration by a people who, as a nation, had emerged from savagery at the bidding of Rome; and yet, notwithstanding this, the centralizing governmental traditions which the Roman system had grafted upon the primitive town and village government of the Celtiberians had struck so little root in Spain during six centuries, that long before the last legionaries left the country the centralized government had fallen away, and the towns with their assembly of all free citizens survived with but little alteration from the pre-Roman period. No centralizing governing genius of Neo-Celtiberian blood continued the national traditions introduced by the Romans or endeavoured to employ Roman methods to consolidate Spain into a civil self-constituted nation: and by the time the

Goths appeared all was clear for them to begin afresh on their own lines. These lines were radically different from those of the Romans. The Gothic social system had always recognised the independence of the individual, and especially of the women of the family. The paterfamilias did not centre in himself all the rights of his household; wife and children were expected to do their share of fighting the enemy and providing food for the house, and participated by right in the plunder or the food. The equality of the wife with her husband was enjoined strictly, not only in the marriage ceremony but also by the law, which gave her full control over her own property and a half share of the common stock. As a result of this admission of the rights of individuals, the governmental traditions of the Germanic peoples were purely elective and representative, but on an aristocratic basis, as was inevitable with a people who for centuries had lived by armed struggle. At first sight it would appear that such a system as this would have been in entire accord with the individualistic instincts of the Spanish people; but this was not by any means the case, and the permanent influence of Gothic governmental traditions on Spain was comparatively small. The individuality, so characteristic of the Spaniard, arose out of a natural, proud personal independence and impatience at restraint by another man; whereas the Gothic recognition of the individual was in a great measure the outcome of the stage of civilization the race had reached, and the peculiar road by which it had reached it. The difference will be easily appreciated by the readiness with which the Goth accepted the Arian doctrine of predestination, which made the acts of the individual of no importance in his spiritual evolution, while the Celtiberian from the first fiercely asserted the individual responsibility and rational independence of each creature toward his Maker.

The only centralizing idea of the Goths was an elective military monarchy, upheld by landowning armed chieftains,

which subsequently developed into European feudalism, and it will be seen that this organization could only with much difficulty and delay be ingrafted upon a system of autonomous tributary towns.* It will not therefore surprise the reader to learn that the consolidation of Spain under the Gothic kings was effected by instrumentalities quite separate from Germanic governmental traditions, and that it was the Neo-Celtiberian and not the Gothic spirit that finally became paramount in the making of the nation.

The avidity with which the Latin-speaking Celtiberians had seized upon the religion of Christ, and the early prominence in ecclesiastical organization assumed by the Spanish clergy, have already been mentioned. The mass of the population, it may be assumed, were still to a large extent pagan in feeling and observance; but the teaching of Christianity, which told them of human equality and individual responsibility, appealed to their dearest instincts, and the men of their own race and tongue who taught it, coming as they did with the glamour of a supernatural mission, speedily established their influence over the people. The early councils of the Church, to which reference has already been made, were thus the first assemblies ever sitting in Spain which could claim to speak in any sense for the nation. When the first great schism threatened to split the Church, it was a Spaniard, Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, who was chosen by Constantine (321) to fulfil the mission of persuading Arius to abandon his Unitarian heresy. This failing, Hosius sat pre-eminent over

* In Britain, for instance, where the primitive tribal traditions had not been lost and the towns had been governed on purely Roman military lines, the Germanic-Saxon traditions of a small aristocratic class speaking in the name of the whole community was easily acclimatized, and naturally ended in feudalism, where the possession of the land brought with it the right to speak for those who lived on it, and the duty of protecting them against others while claiming certain service in return. For reasons which have been stated, this feudal system was never strong in Spain.

all other ecclesiastics at the great Council of Nicea, which fixed the canons of the faith; and when (380) Priscilian, Bishop of Avila, dared to think for himself in the matter of the Trinity, his teaching was stamped out with ruthless persecution by his Spanish fellow-Christians, and he himself was executed, while his few followers were scattered to the far Scilly Isles. There was no room for heresy even thus early in Spain, and each council that met reasserted the purity of the only true faith.

When Euric the Goth and his successors appeared in Spain as kings the only unified institution they found was the ecclesiastical organization which had grown up with the spread of Christianity, and which was obeyed, at least in matters of doctrine, by a whole people. Unfortunately, however, the Goths had adopted the Arian form of belief, and when Clovis and his Franks, pagans to a man, coveted Gaul, and the former had adopted Latin Christianity to gain it, then the Goth Alaric the younger, King of Toulouse and Spain, son of Euric, saw that doctrine was stronger than temporal loyalty, for none of his Catholic subjects would help an Arian against the Catholic Frank, and the Goths were driven out of Gaul into Spain, which only the arms of Theodoric the Ostrogoth of Italy preserved for his kinsman Amalaric against Clovis (511). Thenceforward for years the Frankish Catholic carried on a crusade, usually successful, against the Arian Goth in Spain and southern France, in which the Catholic Iberians left all the fighting to their Arian ruler and his countrymen.* The empire, too, found reason to quarrel with the Arian Goths in Spain, and by an intrigue with one of the Gothic pretenders to the crown (Athanagild) the Byzantine emperor recovered most of the south of Spain (554), while Athanagild reigned over what was left from his capital of Toledo. This

* In 532 the Franks raided the country as far south as Zaragoza, but were met and defeated by a Gothic army on their way back across the Pyrenees.

standing religious division between the Gothic king and his Spanish subjects paralyzed the progress of civil organization and made the Gothic military caste doubly foreigners to the people among whom they lived. Another circumstance came to increase the isolation of the Goths. The Suevians had retained their independent pagan kingdom for one hundred and fifty years in the northwest, until 560, when St. Martin d'Umium, by means of some miraculous relics which restored a Suevian prince to health, converted the whole nation to the Catholic type of Christianity. Thus on each side of the Pyrenees as well as in the south of Spain, and even among the mass of their own subjects, the Gothic kings found themselves threatened with zealous religious enemies, thirsting after a crusade, in which the Spaniards themselves would be on the side of the enemy.

Nor was this the only danger which threatened the Gothic domination. The system of electing a sovereign by the military chiefs opened the door to endless dissension and intrigue, the elected king in most cases being murdered after a short reign by one of the jealous factions or ambitious pretenders who coveted the succession. It was already being proved that institutions which suited an ambulant military nation were destructive in a settled civil state, and the Gothic King Leovgild (572) called together the military chiefs, and obtained their permission to make the crown hereditary in his house, his two sons, Hermenegild and Recared, being appointed successively the first heirs. He then assembled the whole of his force and expelled the Byzantine emperor's troops from the territories in the east, upon which they had encroached, confining them to the southern province they had obtained from Athanagild, and again drove back the Suevians and Cantabrians into their inaccessible mountains in the north and northwest. But though his arms were victorious, the religious difficulty continued, or rather increased. Three quarters of the population at least were Catholics, though all

the military aristocracy and Gothic soldiers were Arian, so that force was on the side of the latter; but the Catholics gained a notable recruit in Hermenegild, the heir to the crown, whose Frankish wife, Ingunda, was a fervent Athanasian; and urged by the native Catholic clergy, especially Leander, Bishop of Seville, Hermenegild headed a revolt against his father, in which all the Catholic elements in the Peninsula were on the side of the rebel. The imperial Byzantines deserted him at a critical juncture, and, after undergoing a long siege in his viceregal capital of Seville, Hermenegild was defeated, exiled to Valencia, and forgiven by his father on condition of his abjuring Catholicism. When, however, shortly afterward, the Goths endeavoured to force Arianism upon his Catholic followers, Hermenegild again rose, and civil war between father and son once more devastated the country, the Franks and the Roman Byzantines again siding with the rebel. Hermenegild was routed by his father's troops at Tarraco and promptly executed, much to the scandal of the Roman churchmen, who in course of time have built up a great structure of sanctimonious fable over the name of the undutiful son, of whom the Church has made a saint and Spain a national Catholic hero.

Leovgild, the greatest of the Gothic kings who had yet reigned in Spain, died in 586, full of honours and surrounded with regal splendours such as none of his predecessors had affected. A strong man who tried forcibly to unify a people by bringing the majority to the religious views of the minority, he failed, as he was bound to do, seeing the strength of the elements opposed to him. A hundred years before his time the Catholic clergy had discovered that unity was strength, and that their councils were the only united institution in the country which might assume a national character. The bishops, with three quarters of the people at their backs, were therefore not likely to allow a foreign monarch with a foreign army to break up their strong organization and sub-

stitute a legal centralization and an alien faith in its place. Leovgild did his best to make Spain a nation on civil instead of ecclesiastical lines, but not only the interested clergy, but the spirit of the Spanish people was against him. The absolute identification between the church and the state has always appealed to them, and a nation resting on an ecclesiastical foundation suited them. The individual oppression of one man they could never brook; but, withal, they are, and always were, the easiest governed people in the world when the ruling power is a collective entity arrogating to itself supernatural sanction.

The oppression of the priest, speaking for the Church, or of the king whose power is from heaven, does not degrade the subject, they think; on the contrary, it raises him, and establishes his own oneness with the Divinity, which for His good deigns to participate in his personal affairs. Thus it was that the Catholic priests were stronger than Leovgild, and his son Recared recognised this and bowed his head to the inevitable.

By the end of the sixth century, indeed, the Gothic element had been so greatly changed by a hundred and eighty years of proximity with the Romanized Spaniards that it was impossible to maintain any longer the isolation that at first had been natural. The Gothic military chiefs—like the Normans who later followed William the Conqueror to England—had possessed themselves of most of the settled land in large estates, and a condition of affairs somewhat resembling feudalism was gradually being created, which reduced most of the people outside the towns to a state of semi-serfdom. As these nobles grew in power, still claiming as they did that the sovereign was merely their nominee, to enjoy the throne only during his good behaviour,* it became the more necessary for the king—who was now endeavouring to make the crown

* The formula was: "King shalt thou be if thou doest right. If thou doest not right no king shalt thou be."

hereditary—to obtain strength and sanction elsewhere; and it was unquestionably a stroke of good policy on the part of Recared to proclaim himself a Catholic and throw himself upon the Church and the mass of his subjects for support. After a partially successful attempt to convert with him the Arian bishops and to reconcile them with the Catholic prelates, Recared summoned the ever-famous third Council of Toledo in 589, and solemnly made his confession of faith, which he called upon his people to follow.* The Arian Gothic nobility and some of their bishops protested in vain against the king's act. The proud Catholic churchmen, with Leander of Seville at their head, acknowledged Recared as their sovereign, and the priest in future was paramount in the politics of Spain.

This was the parting of the ways. The Iberian spirit made the Spaniards prefer a sacerdotal monarch, ruling with supernatural sanction over a willingly submissive but vigorous democracy, while in England the territorial aristocracy defeated the Church, and the king became the puppet of the nobles and the people their serfs, until by slow degrees the middle classes partially emancipated them. The different lines taken by the two peoples are to be accounted for, first, by racial tradition, as has already been pointed out; and second, by the fact that the Norman invasion of England made the foreign kings at first entirely dependent upon the nobles, who wielded the armed power, while there was no special bond between king and people; whereas in Spain the religion of the Gothic landed chiefs was opposed not only by the ecclesiastical power, but by the great majority of the people, and the king could, and did, stultify his nobles by siding with the stronger party.

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* Not only did Recared submit questions of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline to the council, but also many points of civil government. In addition to the 67 prelates, there were 5 lay officers of state or palatines in this council.

After many wars with the Frank in his dominion north of the Pyrenees, Recared died in Toledo in 601. His reign marks a new epoch in the Gothic rule in Spain, as well as a landmark in the larger history of the people. The rude Germanic race had now to a great extent adopted the speech of the Romanized Spaniards, and although marriage between the two races was prohibited, undoubtedly a considerable intermixture of blood had taken place in the nearly two centuries since Atawulf crossed the Pyrenees. Recared the Arian Goth had become a Spanish national sovereign under Catholic ecclesiastical patronage, but from that hour the strength of the Gothic monarchy declined, and a hundred years later it fell, decayed to the core. Before recounting the facts of its decline, it will be well to cast our eyes backward for a space to consider what influence it had exercised over the Spanish people in the days of its vigour.

The coming of this sturdy northern race had, after the first few years of anarchy, infused fresh energy into the populations enervated by centuries of Roman decadence, and had endowed with new life the institutions which Roman abuses were sapping; but little was altered in the framework of society which the Goths found established in Roman Spain. It has already been related that the town government, the nucleus of all other government in Spain, had broken down in consequence of the curials—or aldermen—being rendered responsible for the payment of the whole of the taxes and tribute. The Goths preserved the institution of the curia, composed, as before, of the landowning taxpayers, but relieved the members of the responsibility for the taxes, the collection of which was now intrusted to a special officer appointed by the count of the subdistrict. In cases, also, where there was not a sufficient number of qualified persons in the town to form a curia the count might appoint other residents to the membership, and the curia was also intrusted with judicial functions in criminal

causes in first instance within the town. These reforms again restored to the municipal government the full vigour it had formerly enjoyed, and for the next thirteen centuries the institution continued almost unchanged. Similarly the Goths had accepted the Roman provincial divisions. Betica, Lusitania, Cartagenensis, Gallæcia, and Tarraconensis, over each of which a Gothic military leader or duke was placed, with almost sovereign power, and the subdistricts were ruled by counts appointed by the king, these counts having direct control over the town councils or curias in their districts. There was also a judge of the peace for each subdistrict and regular judges for each province, and an advocate was appointed for each town to plead or represent its interests before the higher authorities, where its privileges appeared to be imperilled.* The king was in theory absolute within the law while he reigned, but he had at his side a council of palatines, or high officers of state, who advised him on points of difficulty. This council, which at first was a real power on the side of the nobles to moderate the royal action, began to decline when the king's interests diverged from that of the Gothic nobility; and in the later period, when one usurper after another rose to the throne over the murdered body of his predecessor, the office of palatine was filled mostly by vile upstarts and facile intriguers. It should be mentioned also that, although the institution of slavery was continued as under the Romans, the condition of the slaves was much im-

* It will be observed that, except in military and judicial matters, the towns were practically independent, and that no seigneurial rights were exercised over them either by the neighbouring territorial magnates, by the *dux* of the province, or the *comes* of the subdistrict, the intervention of the latter being confined to the collection of the taxes and the general supervision of the acts of the curia. In the case of arbitrary or unnecessary interference on the part of the *dux* or *comes*, the town had the right of appeal to the king through its specially appointed officer. The territorial or aristocratic government was thus only imperfectly grafted on to the ancient municipal system,

proved. This arose in a large measure from the arrangement that the Goths should have two thirds of the whole of the soil of the country outside the towns and common lands, no taxation being payable on their portions,* which, moreover, were inalienable to any person of Roman-Spanish blood. To till this large proportion of land slave labour had to be employed, and as a consequence many of the slaves became serfs or bondsmen attached to the land, instead of the domestic chattels they had formerly been under the Romans.

It will be seen by all this that, although Gothic methods had been to some extent superposed, it was the Roman-Iberian main idea, rather than the Germanic, which had survived in the government of Spain, and the same phenomenon is noticeable in legislation. The primitive laws of the Roman Republic were in course of time modified and softened by the edicts which each pretor issued on assuming office, announcing the interpretation he intended to give to the original code. By the command of Hadrian (120 A. D.) these various edicts were condensed into a uniform code, under the name of the "perpetual edict"; but as this code was found inapplicable to some of the distant provinces, such as Spain, which had already its own equitable traditions, Antoninus Pius, the successor of Hadrian, issued a "provincial edict" which provided that only specified portions of the Roman code need be enforced in certain provinces which possessed their own customary laws. When the Goths arrived in Spain they found the provincial edict, and an uncodified mass of proconsular and pretorian edicts based on Roman-Iberian usage the nominal law of Spain, and Euric compiled a code which Alaric II (506 A. D.) issued as his *Breviarium Alaricianium*. This code was written in Latin,

* The lands still remaining in the hands of natives not only paid a tax to represent the military obligation resting on the land held by Gothic nobles, but also the old Roman land tax (*jugatio*), now called a capitation. In addition to this, every person, free or servile, except the Gothic nobles, was liable to a *humane capitatio*.

and to a certain extent followed the Roman code, but was largely Gothic in its feeling and procedure.* This was intended exclusively for the use of the Goths themselves, while Romanized Spaniards were still subject to their former laws. Each successive king added something to these enactments, but it was increasingly evident that two separate judicial systems in the same country could not exist as a permanent arrangement, especially as, notwithstanding all prohibitions, the races and classes intermingled. Recared, at the time of the third Council of Toledo, issued certain edicts which were to be binding upon Goths and Spaniards alike; and this tendency to uniform legislation naturally grew as the councils, which were largely Spanish and ecclesiastical, increased in civil power. At length, when the Gothic monarchy was tottering, a vigorous king who lived too late sought to weld his people into one by means of the law in addition to the bond of the Church, which by this time had usurped all power. Chindaswinth (642–654) fused the Gothic and Roman systems of jurisdiction into one national code, binding upon all citizens, and abolished the former rival enactments. The *Lex Visigothorum*, though yet tinged with Gothic social traditions,

* For instance, the Germanic aristocratic system is seen in the fact that the punishments depended not so much upon the nature of the crime as upon the rank of the criminal. All Goths being *nobiles*—classed as primates (lords) and seniores (gentlemen)—their punishment, in every case a fine, was always very light; while the most inhuman cruelty was inflicted upon slaves for very slight offences. Thus a free citizen might assault another free citizen for 10 gold pieces; it would cost him 4 gold pieces to beat an inferior free citizen or freedman, and only 5 pence to beat a slave, while a slave would receive 200 lashes for assaulting a free citizen. The enforcement of the rights of women also indicates the Germanic influence in this code. The code as it was finally published by Egica in the last days of Gothic rule consisted of twelve books, of which the first five regulated civil and private relations, the next three treated of crimes and their punishments, the ninth book referred to offences against the state, the tenth and eleventh to public order and commerce, while the twelfth book dealt with the suppression of Judaism and heresy.

was practically a Christianized adaptation of the Roman law to the special circumstances of Spain, showing on every page the great influence of the Spanish bishops; and under the successor of Chindaswinth, his son Recceswinth, it was promulgated and strictly enforced throughout the country. This *Lex Visigothorum*, or *Fuero Juzgo*, is especially interesting as being the most direct transmission of the old Roman laws in force in any modern country, and the adoption and adaptation of it thus by the Gothic kings of Spain proves the superiority of the Goths as a receptive people to the other Germanic nations which overran Europe, and who in most cases laboured to destroy and abolish all traces of Roman civilization.

Though the Visigoths were not a literary people, and their influence upon Spanish letters was insignificant, yet the Roman-Spaniard, with his exuberant literary talent, and saturated with the later Latin traditions which his race had largely been instrumental in forming, continued his activity in authorship during the whole of the Gothic domination. The line of Latin culture in Spain had never been cut, tenuous as it had sometimes grown under such mediocrities as the geographer Pomponius Mela and the like. But in the fourth century the Christian idea seized firm hold of the imaginations of Spanish-Latin writers, and thenceforward became the central pivot around which their compositions turned. Before the arrival of the Goths a writer who is usually claimed by Spaniards as the first Christian poet, Juvencus (330),* turned into hexameters reminiscent of Virgil the Christian gospels. The style is florid, artificial, and not without the pagan traces which his traditions and the models he followed would naturally produce. Prudentius,* a fervent Christian poet, born at Tarragona, proud of his country, proud of Rome, and proudest of all of his faith, followed; but

* Both Juvencus's and Prudentius's works were edited and published by Arevalo, at Rome, in 1792 and 1789 respectively.

even in his most exquisite verses, full of religious fire as they are, and thirsting for martyrdom, he shows the old classical pagan love for beautiful things, and for the glowing imagery which his pagan predecessors and exemplars had taught him to admire. Orosius,* the Spanish disciple of Saint Augustine, was the first writer who gave to history the universal and general note which Christianity brought with it, by recognising the equality of all peoples before the Creator, though he, too, was full of the glory of Roman Spain.

By far the most famous of the Spanish-Latin writers during the Visigothic period was the great churchman Saint Isidore, who had succeeded in the bishopric of Seville to his brother the rebel ecclesiastic Leander, who had supported Saint Hermenegild against his father, the king. Saint Isidore, who presided over the metropolitan see of Seville from 600 to 636, may be fairly considered as the last scholarly representative of the ancient classical learning before the dark curtain fell upon the world. His great work is a sort of encyclopedic dictionary, called the Etymologies, which contains an extraordinary amount of learning gathered from previous writers of all time, many of whose works have since been lost. The principal value of Saint Isidore's work at the present time is to enable us to understand by his definitions both the extent to which Christianity had modified the classical Roman views of society and life in Spain in the seventh century, and how far it had accepted the scientific knowledge of the ancients. There is nothing, however large or small, which escapes the pen of Saint Isidore; and it is evident from the definitions in the Etymologies that a Christian bishop had no hesitation whatever in accepting and indorsing to a great extent the views on art, eloquence, music, and literary expression which had been formulated by the writers of pagan Greece and

* Orosius's works will be found in the Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vienna, lib. 5.

Rome. His philosophy of life is Platonic and Aristotelian, while his religious philosophy is drawn from Saint Gregory the Great. As a Christian prelate quoting a Christian Pope, he condemned vain, gentile books, "the fictions of the poets, who with the attraction of the fables move the soul to levity," and the showy, empty eloquence of the later pagan rhetoricians, which he compares unfavourably with the staid simplicity of Holy Writ; but as a writer with the Iberian spirit strong in him, he does not disdain the use of florid rhetoric in his own writings, and his views of art and beauty are taken entire from the pagan writers, notwithstanding an occasional Christian tag introduced to show the vanity of human creations.

The wonderful harvest of learning gathered in from all sources by Saint Isidore profoundly influenced his contemporaries and successors, and he is usually placed as the leader of a separate school of thought in Seville, although without apparently sufficient reason, as the absorption of the classical learning by Christian writers, so conspicuous in the Etymologies, is indicative not of Seville alone, but of the Christian writers of all Visigothic Spain under Saint Isidore's influence, especially those of Zaragoza and Toledo, led respectively by Saint Braulius, the disciple and editor of Saint Isidore, and by Saint Eugenius. The influence subsequently exerted outside Spain by this assimilation is especially seen in the works of the Spanish-Roman Goth Theodowulf, Bishop of Orleans under Charlemagne—poet, courtier, philosopher, and great ecclesiastic. Theodowulf, like Saint Isidore, adapted the beauties of Virgil, Ovid, Quintillian, and Donatus to the Christian creed. Possessing all the ancient love of beauty and elegance, all the old admiration for perfect works of art, the Christian bishop sought to prove in every page of his writings that harmonious beauty in form, colour, and expression was not necessarily pagan, but that the breath of Christianity would lend to loveliness itself a new life, which should lead

the thoughts of men to the Maker of all harmony. We shall see later that his idea, especially Spanish in its origin, disappeared for a time more completely in Spain than elsewhere, owing to the Christian fervour aroused by the Moorish domination. The revival of the classical ideals, the rekindling of the spark which Saint Isidore so lovingly kept alight during his time, was to be effected in Spain, it is true, but by men of foreign tongue and unchristian creed, taking their inspiration direct from the original fount.

It is evident by the canons of the various councils of Toledo that the secular education of youth was not neglected in Visigothic Spain, although, with the almost complete supremacy of the ecclesiastical class during the later years of the dominion, it is natural that the monastic and episcopal schools for those destined to the priesthood should be the most famous. At Dumium, in Galicia, the noted Hungarian Bishop of Braga, Saint Martin, founded a school known throughout western Europe; the academies of Valclara in Catalonia, of Toledo, of Zaragoza, of Seville, and many others, were celebrated for the learning of their professors and alumni. It is to be presumed from the several references of Saint Isidore and others that as much attention as ever was paid in the schools to rhetoric and forms of expression, for eloquence and elegance of style are more often praised even than the substance of learning itself by these early Christian Spaniards. The verbal exuberance of the Iberian was as evident then as it was in the palmy days of the younger Seneca, and as it has invariably been since in every manifestation of Spanish literary activity. While Christian poesy and an adaptation of classical learning thus flourished in Spain under the Visigoths, another branch of art decayed almost entirely. During the Roman rule the theatre and the public diversions had flourished exceedingly, as the dramatic poetry of the period and the ruins of the splendid amphitheatres still existing in Spain will testify. The Goths, however, were not a theatrical

or a poetic people, and under the influence of Saint Gregory. Christian feeling was strongly against the scenic pleasures that had delighted the pagan Romans. Saint Isidore in every case speaks of the theatre and actors in the past tense—although we know that poetic recitations in public had not entirely disappeared—and he has no words of reprobation too strong for such amusements. "What connection," he asks, "can a Christian have with the folly of the circus games, with the indecency of the theatre, with the cruelty of the amphitheatre, with the wickedness of the arena, or with the lasciviousness of the plays? They who enjoy such spectacles deny God, and, as backsliders in the faith, hunger after that which they renounced at their baptism, enslaving themselves to the devil with his pomps and vanities."

It will be seen, therefore, that the influence which dominated literature under the Visigoths in Spain was entirely the tradition of Roman culture, more or less modified by Christian doctrine; and in the domain of executive art the same phenomenon is seen. The discovery, in 1858, near Toledo, of the priceless treasure of Guarrazar enables us to form a precise idea of the Gothic influence upon the artistic metal work of Spain. Eleven votive crowns of gold and precious stones of extraordinary magnificence, and much other gold jewelry of the later Gothic period, testify to the lavish but somewhat barbaric splendour which surrounded the Visigothic kings in the decadence of their monarchy.* The crowns, especially that of King Swinthila (at Madrid) and that of King Recceswinth (at Paris), are surrounded with rosettes of pearls and sapphires in a delicate red paste *cloisonné* setting. The suspending chains are of pierced floriated work, and the same simple patterns of decoration are found on all the objects, executed in openwork filigree, *repoussé*, and *cloisonné*, of wonderful richness and intricacy of work-

* Most of these interesting objects may be seen in the Musée de Cluny, Paris, and the rest in the Royal Armory, Madrid.

manship. The general character, although somewhat reminiscent of the later Roman Empire, has for the first time distinct features of its own, which distinguished the fine metal work of Christian Spain for centuries afterward, and almost certainly influenced Frankish art of the same period—unless, indeed, the origin of both schools was similar and simultaneous. There is more than a suggestion of Byzantine and early Oriental in the style of ornamentation, but the heavy splendour of the Germanic taste is evident throughout.

The manufacture of the world-famous swords and steel armour of Bilbilis and Toledo had continued through the whole period, and in this direction also the Goth left some small influence behind him. The swords made there in Carthaginian and Roman times were broad, straight, double-edged blades, with a central groove, and also the special arm of the Celtiberians, a curved, sickle-shaped sword, with the edge on the inner curve. Under the Visigoth the latter arm disappeared and the former became longer and less broad. The Roman breastplates and leg pieces likewise fell into disuse under the Goths, and gave place to coats of mail and chain armour, also distinctly reminiscent of the East. Spanish pottery during the Visigothic period shows but little departure from the Roman and Arrhetini (Samian) models, which had been general under the empire, the surface ornamentation alone in some cases testifying to the general Byzantine influence; but the manufacture of fine glass, for which Spain had been famous under the Romans, seems to have almost disappeared during the Gothic domination; and the same fate appears to have befallen the textile industries, the famous linens and scarlet cloths of earlier days being now never mentioned.

It will thus be seen generally that Spain owed but little either politically or artistically * to the Goths, whose main

* Their architecture had not yet assumed in Spain the character we usually associate with their name. The oldest specimen existing

influence during the first hundred and eighty years of their domination was to revivify existing institutions. With the conversion of Recared to Catholicism and his submission to the ecclesiastical rather than to the feudal power, the vigour of the Gothic monarchy declined with startling rapidity. Recared and his successors decided to accept the Church as the national bond of union, and thenceforward the national development was forced to proceed on ecclesiastical lines. The countries in which feudal institutions won in the first struggles gradually developed national parliaments out of the assemblies of nobles; in Spain the progress was in another direction. There the elective assemblies of nobles became effete, and the councils of bishops with a few palatine officers formed the earliest germ of national representation. The effect of this will be apparent later in the growth of Spanish institutions.

King followed king in rapid succession after the death of Recared (601): no less than three sovereigns being murdered in five-and-twenty years, besides two who died natural deaths within that period. The only one of note was Swinthila (621–631), who took advantage of the Eastern Emperor Heraclitus being engaged in his war with Persia to chase the imperial troops from the last foothold in the south of Spain, which they had obtained from Athanagild sixty years before; and thus the long connection of Spain with the Roman Empire at last came to an end (626), to be revived again in another form nine hundred years later under Charles V.

But Swinthila tried to do too much. He not only dared to kick against his hard taskmasters, the Spanish Catholic bishops, but by again endeavouring to make the crown hereditary alienated also the Gothic nobles. He was accordingly speedily disposed of, and a *protégé* of the churchmen, Sise-

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is the church of Naranco, near Oviedo, of the middle of the ninth century, which shows no departure from the style of the later empire except a natural tendency toward the prevailing Byzantine.

nand, was proclaimed king (631) without the form of election by the barons. In order, therefore, to obtain sanction for his usurpation, he summoned the famous fourth Council of Toledo, and in its hands deposited the power he had seized. Saint Isidore presided over this august assembly of churchmen, and in the name of the Church recognised Sisenand as king. But even this was not enough for the ecclesiastics. It was enacted that in future every king should receive from the council of bishops and palatines the confirmation of his election before he should be allowed to rule; the Catholic Church was proclaimed as the only religion of the monarchy, and excommunication was fulminated against the deposed Swinthila and all that dared question the decisions of the councils. The influence of churchmen of Iberian blood and sympathies was soon seen in the bitter persecution of the Jews, who had flocked to Spain in great numbers on the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and had lived in peace and prosperity ever since under the empire and the early Gothic kings. Immediately the conversion of Recared gave to the Spanish bishops the whip hand persecution began. No Jew was allowed to hold any public office, to own Christian slaves, or to marry a Christian wife; and under Sisebut (612–620) compulsory baptism was enforced upon them, and the persecuted people fled from torture and death in great numbers to France and Morocco. Swinthila refused to persecute them, but when the fourth Council of Toledo had anointed his usurping successor (633) it was no longer persecution, but extermination, that the churchmen aimed at, notwithstanding the grave warning against overzeal given by Saint Isidore himself. No mercy, no toleration, no social rights, were to be allowed to the hated race, and five years later (638) it was enacted by the sixth Council of Toledo that none but Catholics should be allowed to live in Spain. Each succeeding council gave another turn of the screw which oppressed the Jews. Even those who accepted Christianity were harried and persecuted

with relentless spite. Placed under ecclesiastical judges alone, deprived of property, rights, and children, scourged, enslaved, and tortured, it is not to be wondered at that those who fled across the straits and those who remained pariahs, though professed Christians, in Spain, plotted ceaselessly to overthrow the rule of the bitter bigots who had deprived them and their race of all that mankind holds dear. Nor was this persecution the only outcome of the ecclesiastical supremacy in the state. The conduct of the clergy themselves, sure of immunity under any circumstances, became hideously corrupt and dissolute; and the whole community naturally partook of the corruption of its political and religious guides. Kings counted for little now, for if they grew independent they were easily removed. Councils of Toledo met in rapid succession and issued decrees for the government of the country, most of which tended to the extension of Roman-Spanish and Catholic ideas and the absorption of the Goth; while the kings, mostly mere puppets of the churchmen, grew in splendour and luxury as they declined in power. Once a flicker of the old Gothic spirit showed itself in the forcible election of the fine old soldier Wamba to the throne (672) by the Gothic nobles. Faced by a widespread Jewish conspiracy for setting up a rival king in Gothic Gaul, and by a revolt of the Cantabrian tribes in the north of Spain, Wamba taught some of his people to fight vigorously again, and to throw off the paralysis that afflicted them. But the free Roman-Spaniards, priest-ridden now to an extent which can hardly be realized to-day, sulked as much as they dared from Wamba and his wars, and had to be coerced more than once to follow even a victorious Gothic king. He was too wise and strong, also, to please the churchmen. Erwig, weak and false, suited them better, and to Wamba was given a sleeping draught which rendered him senseless while the conspirators shaved a tonsure on his head, which made the sturdy old general incapable of ruling, for no churchman

was allowed to wear the crown. The Church was thus too strong even for Wamba, who gave way to Erwig and retired into a monastery to end his life, the last great Gothic king of Spain, tricked out of a throne he had not sought (680). In his turn Erwig was ousted by Egica, a nephew of Wamba, after whom came his son Witiza. The Gothic nobles then made one last struggle to obtain the upper hand; for the Church and the Roman-Spaniard were quite paramount now. Roderic, the Gothic nobles' nominee, was able to wrest the throne from Witiza, the *protégé* of the bishops (710), but the resulting civil war between the two elements completed the ruin of the monarchy. The feudal Gothic element still held the land, while the towns, which provided the revenues of the country, were mainly Spanish. The ecclesiastical organization was complete and national, while the feudal element had little cohesion except common blood and interests, which, however, the elective character of the monarchy constantly tended to divide.

The romantic story of Roderic's amours with the beautiful La Cava and the introduction of the infidels to Spain by her outraged father may be dismissed as fable. A much better reason existed than that for the fall of the monarchy. The Bishop of Seville (Oppas), intriguing with Witiza's sons for the overthrow of Roderic, arranged with Count Julian, the Eastern-Roman emperor's governor of Ceuta, to send a force of Africans over the straits to strengthen the hands of the ecclesiastical party and finally to crush the landowning Gothic nobles. The Arabs had pursued their conquering march through Syria, Egypt, and north Africa, and had made themselves masters of Morocco. They were a newly awakened people, with the zeal and flush of a fresh-born faith, and had hitherto carried all before them. Only a few years previously they had raided the east coast of Spain, and probably, even without invitation, would have made another attempt at invasion. Authorized by the Caliph of Damascus, the Arab

chief Musa in 710 sent a small expedition under Tarif to the point now called Tarifa to spy out the strength of the land. He returned to Barbary loaded with booty, and with stories of a people so soft and unwarlike as almost to invite conquest. The next year (711) there went 7,000 savage Berbers—Afro-pre-Semites with a large admixture of Vandal blood—to land, as their far-distant forefathers had done, on the coast of Spain.

This was one of the great crises of history, but the actors knew it not. Tarik, the Berber chief, with his wild fanatic soldiery, first set foot on the famous rock which ever afterward bore his name, Gebel-al-Tarik, assured of an easy victory over a people whose only national bond of cohesion were the canons of the Church, and whose supreme government was a council of bishops. Roderic and his Gothic officers, with their vassal army of 60,000 men, hurried down from the north to do battle not only against the invader, but against the priestly *régime* that had made the invasion possible. For three days the battle raged fiercely at the junction of the rivers Guadalete and Guadalquivir, where Lake Jauda waters the fertile plain, but on the third day the Berbers were joined by the forces of the churchmen, under the Bishop of Seville and the sons of Witiza,* while Count Julian also, with 5,000 Berbers, turned his arms against his fellow-Christians. The Goths themselves fought stubbornly to the last, but were surrounded and overwhelmed, Roderic disappearing thenceforward from the ken of men, though his crown and sceptre were found on the river bank. The purely Gothic element in Spain was withered up as if by fire. The Spaniards were more inclined to look upon the African intruders as friends than as foes, for had they not come to secure to the Roman-Spanish ecclesiastics the supremacy which the Gothic nobles disputed with them? Everywhere, too, the Jews were in league with

* Some Spanish historians assert that they did not join the enemy, but simply deserted.

the invader, and city gates opened as if by magic at the approach of the African. The invaders respected property and life to an extent unheard of in similar wars, and within two years of Tarik's landing the whole country was under the sway of the infidel. Then, when it was too late, the besotted churchmen saw the mistake they had made, and understood that through their ambition Spain, if not Europe, would have to be reconquered foot by foot for the Church of Christ. And for well-nigh eight centuries to come the mighty weapons of the priest—the hope of heaven, the fear of hell, the ire of God, the esteem of men, the greed of gain, pride, patriotism, and hate, every passion that stirs the heart—were all wielded ceaselessly and vehemently by the Spanish clergy in the great struggle which slowly bore onward the Cross and rolled back the Crescent.

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### 27 B. C. TO 710 A. D.

*Summary of progress during this period*

In the earlier years of the empire the civil and judicial organization of the whole country was completed. The municipal institutions were the basis of government. General assemblies of burgesses, in two classes (*cives* and *incolas*), annually elected the officers—two duumvirs or mayors, two ediles, with questors, lictors, scribes, etc., the administrative power being supervised by the curia or town council, consisting of the landowning burgesses. Frequently the larger and more Roman cities had incorporated with them a number of neighbouring towns. Each town or group of towns thus formed raised and spent its own taxation, the funds being derived from the contributions of the two classes of citizens and the rents of the common lands of the township. The towns sent deputies each year to the provincial centre, primarily to attend the religious festivals, but really to review the acts of the provincial governor, who, although nominally supreme, was limited by the law and local usage. The provincial funds were derived from the revenues of common lands and mines, customhouses (now first introduced), and a number of small

impositions paid by various classes of citizens and towns. Under Vespasian the whole of Spain was granted the privilege of "Latin law," and later Antoninus Caracalla gave to all free Spaniards Roman citizenship. The refinement and luxury of Spain grew greater with the increasing splendour of Roman life, and the colony accompanied the mother city in its degeneration of morals and manners. The introduction of Christianity profoundly influenced the social views of Spaniards. Slavery became milder and partook increasingly of the character of territorial vassalage, and the idea of the liberty and sacredness of the individual took firm hold of Spanish imagination. The revivification of institutions by the Goths and the subsequent overshadowing of the military feudalism of the Germanic peoples by councils of Latin-inspired bishops gave to Spanish public life during the period under review the direction which it ever afterward followed. The Roman emperors endowed Spain with a complete network of roads, causeways, viaducts, and bridges, of which many still remain, and the fine aqueducts, amphitheatres, baths, and public buildings were also mostly constructed in this period of the domination. Commerce grew enormously with the increase of wealth and means of communication; public schools, of three successive grades, were established in all the large centres; and, as will be seen in the text, a fever of literary activity overtook Spaniards. The numerous splendid remains still existing in Spain of the architecture of imperial Rome, the sculptures, mosaics, arms, jewels, and ornaments which have been discovered, show that, although the colony rivalled Rome itself in the arts of civilization, no special feature was developed which marked a distinction of Spanish taste.

The incursions of the barbarians, and subsequently the renewed decadence of the Goths, coming after a long period of Latin decline, led to the disappearance from Spain of most of the elegance and luxury of the Roman period, the models now followed being the rougher productions of Germanic and Frankish taste, tinged by the prevailing Byzantine influence. As is pointed out in the text, the Gothic kings gave to Spain the only direct adaptation of the Roman law to the changed circumstances of the times—the first code of laws published in Europe after the fall of the empire, the *Lex Visigothorum*. They also ingrafted to a slight extent the feudal system on to the older institutions of the country.

*Summary of what Spain did for the world in this period*

Some of the greatest writers who glorified Latin literature were Spaniards. Their influence, although attractive, made for decadence, and the national qualities of redundancy and vehemence ultimately ruined Latin style. The Christian Spanish writers—Juvencus, Prudentius, Saint Isidore, Saint Braulius, etc.—however, did much to keep culture of a sort still alive at a time when darkness was closing in. Industrially and artistically Spain only served the world during this period as a satellite of Rome, though with the Gothic domination she did something to maintain and spread the mingled Teutonic and Byzantine forms of art. More important, however, by far than this, she produced the best and most direct adaptation of the Roman law, the *Lex Visigothorum* or *Fuero Juzgo*, when all other Teutonic dominations were endeavouring to supersede or destroy the Latin judicial system. Spain thus transmitted in unbroken line the law of ancient Rome to modern Europe.

# CHAPTER III

## MOSLEM SPAIN

Effect of the Moorish invasion—The Berbers and the Arabs—Abd-er-Rahman defeated by the Franks—The Mozarabes—The Caliph Abd-er-Rahman—Roncesvalles—Covadonga—The religious influence on the reconquest—Influence of Arab civilization upon Christian Spaniards—Santiago—The caliphs of Cordova—Growth of fanaticism on both sides—Anarchy in Moslem Spain—Extension of the Christian conquest—Restoration of the caliphate by Abd-er-Rahman-an-Nasir—Christian tribute to Abd-er-Rahman III—The rise of Castile—Almansor.

It has been truly said that the decline and fall of the Visigothic monarchy in Spain was really only the continuation and completion of the downfall of Roman civilization in the country. For reasons already set forth, the Goths infused fresh temporary vigour into institutions during the first century of their rule, but the inevitable decay was too strong for them, and their disaster was utter and final. The institutions which in early days had been their great source of strength, indeed, contributed not a little to their own discomfiture—greater by far than that of the people they had conquered. The aristocracy of the Roman world had been bureaucratic and official—the aristocracy of a class open to all free citizens, and to which, as we have seen, Spaniards had ready access: whereas the Gothic system depended upon an aristocracy of caste, hereditary and territorial, of which the doors were rigidly closed against Spaniards for all time. The inalienable possession of most of the land by the Goths had the effect

of enormously increasing the various forms of villainage, and thus further reduced the status of the great mass of the people, whose strongest instinct was that of personal independence. The extraordinary fervidness with which the Catholic form of Christianity was accepted by Spaniards is to a great extent explained by the fact that the Church, at least, was open to them; and side by side with the hereditary privileged caste of the Goths grew up the ecclesiastical privileged class of the Spaniards themselves. It was the more or less conscious struggle for supremacy of these two classes which consummated the catastrophe. The Spaniards—four fifths of the nation—were naturally on the side of their own race; and as the power of the Church councils increased they looked ever more eagerly to the Church alone for emancipation and reform. In the supreme struggle with the Moors the Gothic nobility therefore found few but unwilling bondsmen to fight for them apart from those of their own race and caste. Hence it was that while the Roman-Spaniard remained after the Moorish victory certainly in no worse position civilly than he was before in many cases, indeed, much better—the Goths were literally swept away, and their system of hereditary nobility, depending upon the ownership of land, disappeared. This fact must not be lost sight of, as it profoundly influenced subsequently the organization which grew up in the renascent nationality.

The early conquests of the Arabs had not been primarily prompted by a desire to proselytize, but to extend the empire of the Caliph of Damascus, and the readiness with which the north African peoples had embraced the faith of Mahomet had not been altogether pleasing to the Caliph's tax collectors, who thus saw their tribute materially reduced. The Omeyyad dynasty, moreover, which now reigned at Damascus, was itself of disputed orthodoxy, and had no desire whatever to deplete its treasury for the sake of the faith. And although the Berbers, with the zeal of new

converts and semisavages, who had learned the material but not the spiritual part of their new faith, were inclined to be fanatical, there was at first no attempt whatever on the part of the invaders to convert the Christian population of Spain, which so readily accepted their rule.

It was probably not originally the intention of Tarik and his Berbers to conquer a nation, but rather to plunder a province, and perhaps to retain a foothold on the coast in order to command the straits. But the victory over Roderic had been too complete to stay on the banks of the Guadalete, and through an unresisting country Tarik marched, in defiance of the orders sent to him by the caliph's wali Musa from the other side of the straits; for the Arab conquerors and masters were jealous and apprehensive to see their wild subject people pursuing a course of conquest on their own account. Sending columns to occupy Cordova and Malaga, Tarik himself pressed forward to royal Toledo, which fell without a blow by the connivance of the Jews, who had a long account to settle with the fallen *régime*, and exacted it to the utmost tittle. At first there was some plunder and rapine by the Berbers, but before many months had passed, Musa, the Arab wali, with an army of 18,000 men, came across to secure the conquest for himself and his caliph. Casting the Berber leader, Tarik, into prison for daring to exceed his orders, Musa marched onward to the Pyrenees, whence he looked back upon a Spain of which only one corner was now ruled by Christians. In most cases the Christians, and especially the Jews who had accompanied the invaders in vast numbers, had reason to congratulate themselves upon their change of masters. The most absolute religious toleration was allowed, and the exercise of all faiths encouraged. Where no resistance was offered to their arms the Moors left the owners in full possession of their lands, with the right of free sale, which they did not previously possess; while in the towns the property was retained by the owners on payment of the universal

tax of the *kharâdj* (about 20 per cent), and a special head tax upon Christians and Jews of 48 dirhems per head for wealthy persons, half that amount for the poorer people, and a quarter for the servile classes.* In the districts of the south where resistance had been offered the lands were confiscated, one fifth being retained for the state and four fifths distributed among the Moorish soldiery; but even here the villains were left in possession, paying to the new lords, in the case of the state one third of the produce, and in case of the soldiers four fifths. The Christians, moreover, were ruled by their own Latin-Visigothic code of laws, administered by their own officers; and even the Christian priests—though not the political bishops or the Church as an institution—lived and ministered in safety under the rule of the infidel.

If, as is generally asserted by contemporaries, Tarik was imprisoned by Musa, he was speedily released to pursue the scattered remains of the Gothic host under a chief, Pelayo, who had fled to the northwest, while Musa with his army subdued the east and northeast as far as the Pyrenees. But soon the caliph in far Damascus grew anxious, perhaps indignant, at these vast campaigns; which his wali had written to him "were not common conquests, but like the meeting of the nations on the day of judgment," and peremptorily ordered Musa to come and give an account of his actions. As viceroy in Spain Musa left his son Abdul Aziz, who, after reducing the gallant Gothic Duke Theodomir at Orihuela, near Alicante, to the position of a vassal king,† himself held court at Seville, married a Christian lady, and, in true Oriental fashion, was murdered by an emissary of the caliph, who had already

* This would represent about 20*s*., 10*s*., and 5*s*., respectively, but these sums must be multiplied by about 11 to arrive at the proportionate value at the present time.

† Theodomir, according to the story, having been driven out of the mountains of Murcia, fled, accompanied only by a page, to the walled town of Orihuela. There he made a great show of women dressed as warriors on the ramparts, and himself, personating a mes-

degraded and destroyed his father Musa on his arrival in Damascus. Before Abdul Aziz fell he had, to some extent, organized Moorish Spain on the tolerant system to which reference has been made, accepting the governmental machinery already existing, but appointing a Moorish alcaide or governor to each large town with its dependent villages to replace the Gothic comes, and sending a wali to each province instead of the dux. The difficulty in these early days of the Arab domination was not between Christian and Mahometan, but between the different sections of the victors themselves. The Berbers, not without reason, looked upon their own race as the conquerors of Spain; but their Arab masters treated such pretensions with the scorn of a superior race, who had only recently brought to the Berbers the faith they professed and such civilization as they had attained. The caliphate itself was in the throes of revolution, and leaned first to one side and then to another. From Africa swarmed thousands of tribesmen to the fertile land their brethren had just conquered—Berbers, Touaregs, Copts, and Nubians—hating each other as only savage tribes can, but all, to some extent, recognising the superiority of the Arab, who had brought them into the fold of the Prophet. One amir of Spain after another therefore followed in quick succession on the death of Abdul Aziz. Tribal jealousies and wars continued, in which, although the Arab usually prevailed, the more fanatical Berber gradually forced to the front the idea that the most fervid Mahometan was necessarily the best man.

Among the undistinguishable amirs who rose and fell during the first forty years of Arab ascendency one shines through the ages as the principal actor in a series of events

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senger, with his page as a herald, cleverly cajoled Abdul Aziz into granting him very favourable terms of surrender, Theodomir becoming a tributary prince of the caliph and a close friend of the Arab Abdul Aziz. The territory around Orihuela was called the land of Tadmir by the Moors centuries after Theodomir had died.

of paramount importance in the history of the world. Thitherto no effective resistance had been offered to the Arab advance. In less than a hundred years this nomad nation had carried their banner and their faith from the Hindoo Koosh to the Pyrenees unchecked, and by every law they were forced to press onward until they met an insurmountable obstacle. Already Alahor, in 719, had conquered without difficulty the portion of Gaul which had formerly owed allegiance to the Gothic kings, with Narbonne as its capital, and thence the intruders had spread west to Beaune, seizing Avignon in 730.

Then there arose Abd-er-Rahman as Arab governor of southern Gaul, who dreamed of carrying the Crescent to the Rhine and the North Sea. At first he was unsuccessful, and was deposed by the caliph, but in 731 was reappointed Amir of Spain, and after suppressing the disorder of the tribes there and sternly curbing the Berbers and their fanatical Marabouts, he set forth to realize his great dream of making the caliph master of Europe. Northward through Aquitaine to the banks of the Garonne the Saracens swept all before them. Bordeaux fell, and the rich plains of central France lay open to them. But before they could cross the Loire and master northern France a Frankish army lay in their path. Between Poictiers and Tours the forces of Islam met with the Christian host under Charles the Hammer, as he was ever afterward called. The Saracens were confident, for had not the Christians of Spain bowed the head before them as the ripe corn bends before the wind? And were not these Franks Christians, too? Yes, but with a difference; for the Franks, instead of being absorbed by a Romanized nation, had absorbed it; the vices of the later empire had not emasculated them, and the powers of church and state were in healthy rivalry, instead of the latter being a mere appanage of the former, as in Spain. And so Abd-er-Rahman fell; the Hammer stayed the flood of Islam, and in a seven days' fight decided

that the Cross should prevail. Thenceforward, although the Moors kept Narbonne for some years longer, their power stayed at the Pyrenees.

The masterful Arabs had appropriated to themselves the best parts of the Peninsula, especially the smiling south coast, their own fair Andaloos, and had relegated their subject African peoples, the Berbers and others, to the arid centre and cold rainy north. The Berber, like his far-away relative the Iberian, was a man of strong individuality, with an obstinate reluctance to obey another unless he spoke in the name of a supernatural entity. His saintly class, the Marabouts, had obtained over him a hold similar to that possessed by the priest over the Spaniard; and inflamed by these fanatics against the tolerant and sceptical Arab, the African peoples on both sides of the straits coalesced against their masters. The position was full of danger for the Arab power in Spain; and before peace could be secured a new division of the country had to be made, in which the Africans obtained a somewhat more equitable share, and the various tribes were allotted districts to some extent climatologically suited to them. Thus the Arabs of Damascus were seated in the beautiful Vega of Granada, the Egyptian Moslems occupied the torrid district of Murcia, and the Berbers had their principal seat in the southwest and extending through Estremadura and Castile, and so were constantly in contact with the enemy. During this first forty years of the Moorish domination in Spain, in which the struggle was continuous and the final issues doubtful between Arab and African, the connection of the dependency upon the caliphate grew weaker, until at last the Amir of Spain came to be elected by the various tribal chieftains, and the election was simply confirmed by the caliph at Damascus.

Side by side with the new rulers lived the Christians and Jews in peace. The latter, rich with commerce and industry, were content to let the memory of their oppression by the

priest-ridden Goths sleep, now that the prime authors of it had disappeared. Learned in all the arts and sciences, cultured and tolerant, they were treated by the Moors with marked respect, and multiplied exceedingly all over Spain; and, like the Christian Spaniards under Moorish rule—who were called Mozarabes—had cause to thank their new masters for an era of prosperity such as they had never known before. Many Christians adopted the faith of Islam, for they thus escaped the head tax, and, if bondsmen, became free. Their religion previously had probably not gone much beyond a vague deism, with a superstitious regard for the priest, and these elements could be supplied by the newer faith; but there was no proselytism on the part of the Arabs, and conversion was discouraged, rather than otherwise. It was not until the fanatic political Christian priests, eager for reconquest, began to arouse the zeal of the Mozarabes that the equally intolerant Berbers in the same spirit began to persecute in the name of Allah and the Prophet.

The empire of Islam itself was too unwieldy to hold together very long in the face of the widely different peoples who composed it and the simple tribal traditions upon which it had been based. The caliphate had existed already three hundred years after the death of the Prophet, when in 750 the reigning Omeyyad at Damascus was deposed by the first caliph of the Abbaside Persian dynasty, who carried the caliphate to Bagdad. The only Omeyyad prince who escaped the slaughter and destruction of his house was the young Abd-er-Rahman, who fled from his persecutors, and, after many moving adventures by land and sea, reached Africa where he found among the Berbers of far Maghreb an asylum whither the hate of the new caliph could not follow him.

From his birth soothsayers had predicted a great future for him. He was clever, strong, ambitious, and the only remaining son of a long line of powerful sovereigns; and no wonder that he looked across the straits to fair Andaloos, and

dreamed of a great empire to be founded by him on the jarring tribes which now possessed the land. The Syrian party was strong in Spain, and hailed the coming of the son of the Syrian caliphs (755). All the Syrian and Yemen tribes of Islam Spain deserted the representative of the caliphate of Bagdad, and saluted Abd-er-Rahman as sovereign. But many a hard fight had to be fought; treachery and cruelty, as masterly as it was heartless, had to be practised before the young pretender could enter Cordova in triumph, to found there the capital of his empire, the centre for two hundred years to come of the Western world's half-forgotten culture.

The Sultan Abd-er-Rahman was one of the Heaven-sent rulers of men. Prompt, yet cautious in council and in war, unscrupulous, overbearing, and proud, he was as ready to wreak terrible vengeance as he was politic to forgive when it suited him. With an energy which carried all before it, he faced and extirpated the forces the caliph sent against him. Tribe after tribe, especially in the north, where the Abbaside cause was strong, revolted, only to be crushed with an iron hand and their leaders crucified. Berber and Yemenite alike acknowledged that at last they had found their master, though during the whole of Abd-er-Rahman's reign the border cities of the north rendered him but sulky homage.

The loss of Narbonne and southern Gaul to the Frank was partly the result of this; and the famous battle of Roncesvalles, of which so much is sung and so little is known, had its origin in the same division among the Moors. Charlemagne, the ally of the new Caliph of Bagdad, had been approached by the Abbaside emissaries in 777, with a request that he would cross the Pyrenees and aid the opponents of Abd-er-Rahman. Zaragoza, the emperor was assured, was on the side of the Abbaside, and in the summer of 778 Charlemagne and his Franks crossed the Pyrenees at the pass of Saint Jean Pied de Port, forming a junction with his uncle Bernard, who had advanced by Roussillon and the eastern Pyrenees. Receiving the

homage of Pamplona, which, though tributary to the Moor, was wholly Christian, Charlemagne appeared before Zaragoza. What followed is not certain: whether Abdul Melik, Abd-er-Rahman's general, was there before the Frank and prevented his entrance, or whether the latter feared treachery from his friends. The only point upon which all are agreed is that after a successful campaign Charlemagne suddenly retreated, sacking and pillaging inoffensive Pamplona on his way, and that in the pass of Roncesvalles his rear guard was attacked and cut up by a mixed force of Basques, Spaniards, and, it is asserted, even Moors.

Of the legendary slaughter, of the heroism of Roland, of the valour of Bernardo del Carpio, of the hundred and one stories which have been embroidered upon the simple happening of this mountain ambuscade, no account can be given here; but at least one important fact comes out of the legend, namely, that Spaniards of all sorts and races, though divided enough to be constantly fighting among themselves, had now, for the first time in their history, the early promptings of the nationality of soil, as apart from that of faith or tribal connection, sufficiently strong to permit of a coalition against a foreigner as such. This feeling was again demonstrated a few years later (797), when Alfonso II, encouraged by his successful raids against the Moors in the south, bethought him to beg the aid of Charlemagne to establish himself in his new conquest, even as tributary of the Frankish emperor. But this the Spanish-Gothic nobles would not endure, and incontinently locked up their king in a monastery until he promised that no foreigner should ever be allowed to interfere in struggles on the soil of Spain.

In the northeast, as yet, no such feeling as this existed; for the close neighbourhood, constant intercourse, common tongue, and common sovereignty of southern Gaul and Catalonia had rendered the people of the two regions almost undistinguishable. At the beginning of the ninth century, there-

fore, when a crusade was organized at Aquitaine to recover Barcelona from the infidel, no opposition was offered by the Christian population. City after city fell to the Frank without a blow until Barcelona was reached. Here Zaid, the Moslem governor for Hakam, King of Cordova, stood firm month after month, until, despairing at Hakam's silence to his prayers for aid, he himself escaped from the city and tried to reach Cordova to press his suit. In an evil hour the Franks captured him, and presented to him the alternative of death or the surrender of the city. The answer of Zaid was to exhort the Barcelonese, Moors, and Christians alike to hold out firmly and so avenge his death. But the Christians were in a vast majority, and surrendered on honourable terms, Zaid being spared. King Louis of Aquitaine entered the city in triumph and established a noble Goth, Bera, as tributary count, and thenceforward for two hundred years, first as a vassal state, and subsequently as an independent dominion, Catalonia bravely held its own against the constant attacks of the Moslems on the south, sometimes falling into their hands for a space, but always reconquered by the sturdy race that peopled it. From this time (800) for two centuries, though the frontiers were constantly changing, and both Christians and Moors frequently raided far into each other's dominions, the soil of Spain may be roughly divided into two fairly distinct zones of possession. That of the Christians was north of a line following the Ebro, the Guadarrama Mountains, and the range which separates the valleys of the Tagus and the Douro, while the Moors were south of that line. The Moors thus had the most fertile and beautiful portion of the Peninsula, while the Christians possessed the regions which bred the hardiest and healthiest men.

After Abd-er-Rahman had consolidated his kingdom of Cordova, independent now of the caliphs of Bagdad, he ruled until his death, in 788, with the tempered severity, wisdom, and justice which made his dominion the best organized in

Europe, and his capital the most splendid in the world. By a curious coincidence, or something more, Spain for the second time had thus found its national bond of union in orthodoxy. We have seen how the consolidation of Christian Spain had been effected by fervent Athanasian Catholicism in the face of Arianism. Mahometan Spain similarly resisted consolidation, until the Omeyyad amir, representing the elective headship of the faithful, came as the champion of the word of the Prophet against the family tradition of the impious Abbasides, heretics of Khorassan. Then African, Egyptian, and Yemenite rallied to the cry of the Marabout as they had never rallied to their tribal chiefs, and Cordova became a second Damascus. There must be something more than accident in this. The vehement Christian orthodoxy to the interpreted Word and the reverence of the priest which united Spain under the Goths was Iberian in its spirit; the fanatical Mahometan orthodoxy which had enabled Abd-er-Rahman to consolidate the tribes under his rule, was mainly African; and the theory that blood relationship existed between the primitive populations on both sides of the straits is borne upon us more strongly than ever. We shall have occasion to remark in the course of this history that in every case hereafter when the African elements rebel against the amirs and caliphate of Cordova, and eventually when they destroy it, their discontent arises from the cultured tolerance which accompanied the orthodoxy of the Syrian-Arab reigning house, and which the Africans looked upon as backsliding.

While the forces of Mahometan fanaticism were being thus employed by Abd-er-Rahman and his successors to consolidate their rule; in the extreme northwest of Spain among the rugged Cantabrian Mountains, a similar spirit of fervour on the Christian side was being assiduously aroused for the purpose of destroying the rule of Islam. All that was left of Gothic chivalry after the battle of Janda fled up into the almost inaccessible mountains of the north, carrying with it

only the holy relics of the saints from Toledo. There can have been but comparatively few Romanized Spaniards among the fugitives, for, as we have seen, the mass of the Christians contentedly remained in their houses and holdings under the Moors; but the defeated remnants of the Gothic army must have found in the Asturian hills a warlike, hardy population, largely Celtic in origin, with an admixture of that Suevian blood which had given so much trouble to the Visigoths. Such elements as these were easy to organize in defence of these secluded valleys; and when the Arab forces under Alsamach, the lieutenant of Alahor, in 718 endeavoured to subdue this last remnant of Christian rule, they sustained a crushing defeat, which the Christian chroniclers exaggerated out of all reason, for the purpose of infusing spirit into their ranks and assuring them of the special protection of Providence.* The battle at the Cave of Covadonga was in all probability one of those mountain engagements in which a few men well placed can inflict terrible punishment upon a large force packed into a confined pass with no facility for retreat. In any case, it was decisive as far as it went; and the Moors in their fertile south, east, and west were content to accept the existence of a tiny mountain principality of Christians in the remote untempting north. Out of this insignificant principality, headed by a Gothic soldier, the Spanish monarchy grew, and the sovereign who at one time aimed at universal dominion, and nearly attained it, was the direct successor of Pelayo, first King of Asturias, in his village capital of Canga de Onis.

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* The Bishop of Salamanca (Sebastian), writing nearly two hundred years after the battle, asserts that Pelayo and his little band of 30 men killed the Moorish general and 124,000 men, besides 63,000 more drowned in the river. The remainder of the Moors to the number of 375,000 took refuge in France. The numbers of the Moors are absurd, and may be reduced by two figures at least, but they perhaps attest the fact that the overthrow was complete and unlooked-for.

Pelayo's son-in-law Alfonso—the Catholic, as he was called—felt strong enough in 742 to advance the limits of his little kingdom; for, as we have seen, at this period the Berbers and Arabs were at discord, and the defeat of the forces of Islam by Charles Martel had given fresh confidence to the Christians. The Basque tribes in the western Pyrenees also sympathized with their co-religionists, and a series of raids was made against the Moor, down as far south as Salamanca and Segovia, while the frontiers of the Asturian kingdom were advanced into Galicia and Lusitania on the one side, and into Biscay on the other. Wherever Alfonso was victorious the Christian faith was established as the sole religion, and everywhere the idea of a divine patronage of the Christian cause was loudly proclaimed by the priests. Covadonga was not a battle, but a miracle; prophecies without number from altar and hermitage told the people how God himself was on their side; celestial voices in sweet concert sang over the dead body of the king; and religious exaltation thus made of the Asturian mountains a shrine, and of a guerilla war of conquest a sacred crusade.

The early organization of the kingdom of Asturias was in all things a continuation of the Gothic system which had ruled Spain before the Arab invasion.* The Fuero Juzgo was still the law, the crown was nominally elective with a quasi-hereditary character, the king was an anointed minister of God as well as a military chief, and the priest was everywhere to exhort to zeal and sacrifice. Gradually through the

* A few years before the Moorish invasion the prohibition of marriages between Goths and Spaniards had been abolished, and in the organization of the kingdom of Asturias the separation of the races was no longer possible, although (like the Normans in England) the tradition of the Gothic blood being the more aristocratic, of course, continued long after all real distinction had disappeared. In the earlier years of the reconquest most of the leading officers were naturally of Gothic descent, and their possession of the border strongholds constituted the nucleus of a new nobility mainly Gothic in feeling.

reign of Alfonso I the Christian castles sprang up all along the marches and debatable ground, as far south as the plains of Leon and as far east as Aragon; and wherever the castles rose the altar had an honoured place, and the soldiers and the churchmen shared labour, peril, and glory.

Fruela, the son of Alfonso, less strict perhaps in the matter of faith than his people—for he paid tribute to the Arab Abd-er-Rahman for a portion of his territories—soon found himself at issue both with priests and nobles; and the fatal division between Spaniards showed itself even in these early days of the reconquest. The Basque tribes were ready to fight the Moor, but would bear willingly no allegiance to a king of Asturias; and Fruela wasted lives and resources in a long war with his fellow-Christians, and quarrelled with both his nobles and the clergy, until he was murdered in revenge for his assassination of his brother, of whose influence he was jealous (757). Doubtful Christian as he was, however, Fruela founded a splendid church to the honour of St. Vincent, around which sprang up the future capital city of the realm, Oviedo.

And so, gradually consolidating the territory they had gained, and holding not infrequent and sometimes not unfriendly communication with the Moors, whose borders adjoined their own, these petty kings of Asturias lived, quarrelled, prayed, paid tribute, and in due course died or were murdered, until one more important than the rest appeared in the person of Alfonso II, son of Fruela and grandson of Alfonso I (791), when Hishem, the son of the great Abd-er-Rahman, reigned over the kingdom of Cordova. The second Alfonso's ambitions were wider than those of his immediate predecessors, for he extended his raids as far as Lisbon, and at least once beat the Moors in a great pitched battle when they attempted to invade his kingdom. He also carried forward his grandfather's plan for an entire organization of his kingdom on the lines of the Gothic monarchy of Spain,

and transferred his capital to the rapidly prospering city of Oviedo.

But notwithstanding the exhortations of the priests, people had begun to settle down in something like amity side by side, even though they professed different faiths. There was a considerable amount of intermarriage between Moors and Christians.* The populations on the borders could not forever be fighting, and in cities under Arab rule, as we have seen, the most perfect toleration prevailed, and even Christians began to enjoy, and to be proud of, the luxury and elegance which accompanied the life of the cultivated Arabs. In Cordova especially, where the taste and liberality of Abd-er-Rahman and his son Hishem had already raised that most beautiful of all Spanish places of worship, the great mosque, still standing, and the marvellous palaces and enchanting gardens were the talk of Spain, an enormous number of Mozarabes by the end of the eighth century had flocked to the city, and had become converted to the Mahometan faith. So numerous were they, and, as befitted their national character, so zealous, that they became, under Hishem, a power and a danger to the state.

The Christian priests in Asturias could not be expected to sit tranquil at the gradual conciliation of Moor and Christian; and the body of Santiago was opportunely found, to stir again the enthusiasm of the soldiers of the Cross. Far away in the Galician mountains a poor shepherd saw a supernatural light shining. The spot was searched, and in a marble coffin was found the body of the apostle. First a humble chapel, and then a noble cathedral surrounded by a city, arose on the Campus Apostoli, where the saint had lain. Pilgrims flocked and prayed at the shrine of so signal a miracle; from

* This was encouraged by several of the kings, especially by Fruela and Aurelio, and probably gave rise to the popular legend of the tribute annually paid by the latter to the Moors of 100 Christian virgins.

King Alfonso to the humble Spanish peasant all knew that the saint had thus appeared to lead them again to victory against the enemies of the faith; and later came the story of how, in the time of Alfonso's son Bermudo, the apostle, at the fabulous battle of Clavijo, with flashing blade and prancing charger, led the Christians to victory after every hope had fled. Another story of the same time relates to the supernatural manufacture of "the cross of the angels." Alfonso II, it is said, wished to testify his gratitude to God by causing to be made a splendid cross out of the gold he had captured from the Moors, and intrusted the work to two young stranger men who offered their services. They were shut up with the materials, and in a short time were found to have disappeared, leaving behind them the beautiful processional cross still existing in Oviedo cathedral. It was probably found that the workmen were of Moorish blood, and to avoid scandal the legend was invented.*

The spirit which produced these and a hundred similar miracles could not fail in time to have its effect upon a people so devout and imaginative as the Celtiberian race; and the Mozarabes began to desert the towns under Moorish rule and migrate into the Christian territory, while those who remained in the Moslem parts of the country grew, under the influence of their priests, ever more bitter against the faith of their governors. Religious rancour on the one side was answered by religious bigotry on the other. Hishem, the son and successor of the great Abd-er-Rahman of Cordova, was a saint. By him the splendid mosque of Cordova was completed,† and

* This gold cross is somewhat Arabic in feeling. It is 16½ inches high and the same across, covered at the back with fine filigree set with precious stones. There are five medallions in front, with a Latin inscription between them. The date upon it is 808, and it is stated to be an offering by King Alfonso. There is in the same cathedral the original wooden cross carried before Pelayo in his first battles. The cross was covered with gold plates in 828.

† This superb edifice stands on the site of a Roman temple of Janus. For the first seventy years after the Arab conquest the Chris-

after a few years of reign he became a complete devotee, while his kingdom was as much of a theocracy as the later Gothic monarchy had been. The greatest power in his state was that of the fanatic religious class—mostly Christian perverts—who had settled in a suburb of Cordova, and were led by a famous Berber holy man, Tahia ben Tahia, who in the last years of Hishem's life wielded the chief power in the state. Hakam, the son of Hishem, who succeeded in 796, found himself face to face with a revolt promoted by this fanatical element, the Fakihs, in favour of his two uncles. After this revolt had been conquered, the Fakihs stirred up a revolution in Toledo, which was not finally suppressed until many hundreds of the noble and saintly rebels had been executed * (807).

Again, seven years afterward, the priestly element made a final effort to remove the caliph, who was not devout enough to please them. Cordova was aroused by the fervid denunciations of the Fakihs, and Hakam was besieged in his own palace; but sallying with a trusty guard he fell upon the suburb where the bigots dwelt, utterly razing it, and driving most

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tian church on the spot was divided, and both forms of worship were conducted therein. Abd-er-Rahman I bought the Christian portion and began the mosque, to the construction of which vast treasures were devoted. It is 360 feet long by 270 feet wide, the roof being low, and the interior presenting the effect of countless radiating arcades of Moorish triple arches supported by 1,200 marble pillars, mostly the spoils of more ancient Roman edifices.

* Toledo had sided with the pretenders Suleiman and Abdallah against Hakam, and had been subdued by Amru, the general of the latter. After the complete defeat of the conspirators, the townspeople of Toledo complained so bitterly of the severity of the governor Yusuf, son of Amru, that Hakam was obliged to remove him, but sent his terrible father in his place. On the visit of Hakam's son, afterward Abd-er-Rahman II, to Toledo, Amru invited the whole of the chief men of the city to a great banquet to meet the heir of the caliph. Four hundred chiefs and gentlemen accepted the invitation, and as each one arrived his head was smitten off. The whole of the bodies were cast into a ditch, and the massacre went down to history under the name of "the day of the fosse."

of its inhabitants out of the city.* Hakam's son Abd-er-Rahman II once more allowed the leader of the bigots, Tahia, to gain the upper hand. The new caliph was a poet, a musician, and a *dilettante*, caring more for the beauty and luxury of his capital than for the greatness of his name; and Tahia, the holy fanatic, shared the government only with the Persian Ziriab, poet, artist, *littérateur*, and arbiter of taste, the most popular man in Cordova.

Sporadic civil war among the Moslems, partial revolts suppressed with appalling cruelty, constant little engagements with the Christians on the borders or struggles with the Franks on the coast, ever-increasing bigotry, both on the side of the Christian priests and the Mahometan devotees—these were the characteristic features of the reign of the gentle and cultured Abd-er-Rahman II. He had done his best by tolerance and protection to soften the bitter spirit of persecution which was growing up on both sides; but a few months before his death (852) saw the outburst of the fierce flame which the churchmen had so long been fanning. It became a perfect craze among the Christian Mozarabic priests to insist upon martyrdom.

It is true that the great majority of Mozarabic laymen were fairly content with their lot, and to a large extent had adopted the customs, and even the language, of the ruling race,† but the priests were ceaseless in their clamour at the

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* The massacre of the suburb of Cordova is ascribed by one school of Arab writers to the vengeance of Hakam for the resistance of the inhabitants to the payment of a new tax to provide for the lavish splendour of his court. It is said that no less than 8,000 of the discontented citizens were expelled to Fez, in Morocco, and 16,000 found a permanent home in Crete.

† The works of Saint Eulogius (the Bishop of Toledo whose self-sought martyrdom practically ended the era of Christian sacrifice in Cordova) and of his contemporary, the layman Alvaro the Cordovese, are full of references to the constant efforts made by the Spanish priests at this period to prevent the introduction into the Christian populations of Jewish or Arabic culture. In mentioning by

shame that the infidel should lord over a former Christian city, and in comparing the soft, self-indulgent habits of the scholarly Arab and Jew with the hard ascetic life which they themselves led for Christ's sake. Everything luxurious, cleanly, or even beautiful, was accursed, because it savoured of Islam; all that was dirty, forbidding, and painful was holy, because it came from the Christian ideal of sacrifice. So when one priest by his open and purposed insults to the faith of Mahomet had brought upon himself the martyrdom for which he yearned, a multitude of Christians pressed and strove to share his fate. Abd-er-Rahman and his Arab advisers used every effort to restrain the zeal of these fanatics, but with little success. Among other things, he summoned a council of Christian bishops in Cordova (852), headed by the Bishop of Seville, which, in accord with the Bishop of Cordova, issued a command prohibiting Christians from wilfully seeking martyrdom. As might have been foreseen, the order had the effect of still further exciting the exalted spirits, and the martyrdoms followed, not now by tens, but by hundreds, for as the Christians became more determined to insult the faith of Islam, the Mahometan fanatics hardened their hearts and became more rigorous. This was especially the case after the death of Abd-er-Rahman II and the succession of his narrow-minded and cruel son Mahomet I.

The overrefinement of the capital, in comparison with the stage of cultivation reached by the great mass of the Moslems, consisting, as the latter did, mainly of rough and inferior African races, naturally led, under a succession of feeble rulers, to division and decadence both within and without.

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name the various Christian martyrs, Saint Eulogius nearly always says that they were *peritus et doctus lingua Arabica*, or *Arabica erudiendus litteratura*. Alvaro soundly rates the youth of his time for learning the language of the infidel and writing verses in Arabic, but it is evident that, notwithstanding the protests of their pastors and masters, the Spanish laymen in Moslem territories were almost as eager to learn Arabic as their Iberian ancestors had been to learn Latin.

For a time, indeed, it appeared that the Spanish caliphate must break up from its own weakness, for the fanatic Berbers made no attempt to conceal their disaffection at the ways of the capital. A Visigothic renegade, Muza ben Zeyad, who had gained high repute among the Moors, seized Huesca, Tudela, Zaragoza, and Toledo, and proclaimed himself independent. For a time Ordoño I, King of Asturias, smiled upon him, for the rebel confined his attacks to the Arab caliph and to the Franks in Catalonia; but before Ordoño died, in 866, he had taken and added to the Christian kingdom much of what Muza had filched from the caliphate. The Christian renegades in the Algarves, the Berbers in Estremadura, the Moors in Tadmir (Murcia), and the Arab aristocracy in Seville, all affected to hold themselves free from allegiance to the king in Cordova, while the Spaniards in the north, the Franks in the northeast, and the Norman pirates on the coast reduced the once supreme power of the Spanish caliph to a shadow.

At length, when things were at their worst, a man arose who was to restore to the throne of his fathers its full lustre, and to make of the caliphate of Cordova a rival, if not a superior, to the caliphate of Bagdad. To Mahomet, son of Abder-Rahman II, had succeeded Mundhir and Abdallah, shadows merely flitting across the page of history. The greater part of rich Andalusia had practically thrown off the yoke of the weak tyrant in silken Cordova, and anarchy reigned supreme through Moslem Spain. The Berber clans held all the southwest and centre, and even some strongholds in the south itself, ostentatiously independent of the Arab. Muza with his Berber freebooters raided and ravaged where they listed, holding much of central Spain as tributary to the Christian kings. The Arab nobility in the south sulked scornfully away from a king who could not hold his own, and a Christian Goth, Ibn Hafsūn, held the rich vega of Granada from his mountain fastnesses in the Sierra Nevada. Murcia, cultivated,

prosperous, and well governed by its Arab lord, made no pretence of allegiance to the caliph, and vied in splendour and wealth with princely Seville under its enlightened king, Ibn Hajjāj; and when, at length, the wretched Caliph Abdallah died in 912, the bigots in the capital could only cry that surely the wrath of God would fall upon Moslem Spain as a punishment for the wickedness of the capital. "Woe to thee, Cordova, sink of defilement and decay!"

In very truth the embers of religious hate, which the bigots on both sides had so industriously fanned, were burning themselves out. The demolition of Christian churches, the sacrifice of self-immolated Christian martyrs, and the consequent revolts of Mozarabes, had produced nothing but misery to all concerned. Neither faith had gained, and neither race had benefited; the main result had been that three parts of the country were overrun by marauders; that every little chieftain set up as a tyrant on his own account, and every man's hand was against his fellow. All insensibly, thus, the country had been brought to the miserable condition in which the one thing required was a saviour of society who should bring with him the rule of law.

The man appeared in the grandson of Abdallah, the young Caliph Abd-er-Rahman III (an-Nasir), who assumed the title of Caliph of the West. A mere lad as he was of twenty-one on his accession, he showed at once his determination to bear no divided sway. Calling the chiefs together, he let them know that no disintegration, no disobedience even, would be allowed. There was, he knew, no cohesion among the warring tribes and petty princes who had broken loose; and as the young caliph marched through Moslem Spain with his army, he found the rebels everywhere ready to submit. Even the Christian Ibn Hafsūn at last was overcome in his stronghold at Barbastro, and obstinate Toledo alone stood out. A permanent siege of the city at last broke down its defences, and eighteen years after his succession (930) Abd-er-Rahman-

an-Nasir the Great stood upon the walls overlooking the broad valley of the Tagus, and thanked God and the Prophet that at last the dominions of his Omeyyad forefathers were once more united under his sway. Abd-er-Rahman was a despot, but a beneficent one. With ruthless severity, but with evenhanded justice, he suppressed the bigots. To him Christians and Arabs were subjects to be governed equally, not rivals to be allowed to cut each other's throats; no favourite or minister was allowed to become a power, no class, however high, was permitted to dominate another; the only ruler was the caliph himself, aided by men of his own making, and supported by a great army of foreign mercenaries depending upon his pay alone.*

It was well for the rule of Islam that the great caliph came when he did to present a united front to his Christian rivals in the north, for, some time previous to his accession to the caliphate, a ruler of exceptional qualities had appeared in the kingdom of Asturias. During the period of dissension and weakness among the Moslems that followed the death of Abd-er-Rahman II (852), Ordoño, King of Asturias, had died, and his young son Alfonso III had, at his testamentary request, been accepted by the nobles in his stead, although Fruela, Count of Galicia, protested against this infraction of the ancient Gothic right of freely electing the sovereign.† From the first years of his reign Alfonso III (the Great) naturally made the most of the dissensions of his opponents. His father had profited greatly by the revolt of the Gothic Moslem Muza and his family, and Alfonso followed the same course. The discontent of the Berbers on both sides of the Strait of

* As will be seen later, this was the exact system of Charles V, and was handed down by him to his son Philip as the main principle of his government.

† This fact is only mentioned to show that even still (866) the Gothic tradition of a purely elective monarchy survived. It was the constant effort of the kings to make the sovereignty strictly hereditary, and they had now nearly succeeded; but old traditions die hard.

Gibraltar against the Arabs grew in intensity, and, taking advantage of their rebellion, Alfonso, sometimes as their ally and sometimes as their opponent, managed to advance his rule far into the great debatable land which lay between the settled districts on both sides.

The limits of the Christian kingdom, actually settled and governed, may now be taken as extending as far south as Zamora, Toro, and Simancas, including Galicia and Portugal to the right bank of the Douro, while the tributary Count of Alava (Diego Rodriguez) claimed territory beyond Burgos, which city he founded, and Alfonso's own forays reached sometimes as far south as Toledo, which city paid him tribute. The semi-independent Basques of Navarre were also brought to some extent into Alfonso's system by his marriage with Jimena, daughter of Don Garcia, Count of Pamplona. Though during the whole of his reign Alfonso was engaged in intermittent warfare with the more or less independent Moorish tribes of the borderlands, he kept up a not unfriendly intercourse with the Moslem King of Cordova, and suppressed as far as possible the religious exaltation which sought to drive him into impolitic and untimely contests * when more could be obtained by friendly arrangement.

What Alfonso III did during his life to increase and consolidate his kingdom he more than undid before his death. It has been related how his own crown came to him by testamentary disposition from his father, confirmed by the nobles; he sought to better the instruction by abdicating in 909, and dividing his kingdom between his already jealous and rebellious sons, who were aided by the father-in-law of the eldest, the Count of Castile. We have remarked how

* Although he made it one of the provisions of a treaty (883) that the bodies of the martyrs Saints Eulogius and Lucrecia should be sent with all respect from Cordova to Oviedo, and he richly endowed the cathedrals of Oviedo and Santiago, yet he was so free from prejudice as to send his son to Zaragoza to be educated by Arab masters.

small was the cohesion between the Christian peoples in Spain. The idea of united nationality of soil was as yet a mere fluctuating one, and the Christian bishops had not succeeded in re-establishing the nationality on the ecclesiastical lines which had existed before the Moorish domination. The Basco-Navarrese, men of separate race, language, and traditions from the Germanized Celtiberians of Asturias and Galicia, and the more than half Frankish population of Barcelona, had practically nothing in common with the kingdom of Asturias, while the border tributary Counts of Alava and Castile, constantly in contact with the Berber and Arab enemy, bitterly resented any interference from the king in Oviedo.

With these elements of division already existing, a governing genius of the first rank would have sought for some common bond of union to bind a nationality together; but with all his undoubted energy and ability Alfonso III lacked genius, and he introduced fresh elements of disintegration by dividing his kingdom. To the eldest son, Garcia, he gave the kingdom of Leon; to Ordoño, Galicia and north Portugal; to Fruela, Asturias; and contented himself for the year which elapsed before his death (910) with the border city of Zamora. Leon thus became the premier kingdom, with the city of Leon for its capital, and on the death of Garcia (914) again absorbed the kingdom of Galicia under his brother Ordoño II. To him succeeded the younger brother, Fruela II, who brought back again his realm of Asturias,* Alfonso IV, and Ramiro II (930–950), all of whom fought, and the last of them with signal success at Simancas,† with

* It should be noted that there was no attempt to keep the kingdoms separate, although the kings of the smaller realms had sons.

† Ramiro II was really an able man, but was hampered by the attempts of his elder brother Alfonso IV, who had abdicated in his favour, to regain his crown. On the final defeat of Alfonso IV his brother Ramiro put out his eyes, and also those of his cousins Ordoño and Ramiro, sons of Fruela II, who had rebelled in Asturias.

the great Caliph Abd-er-Rahman III an-Nasir, but otherwise left no trace.

The Counts of Castile, always turbulent, because always doing the lion's share of the fighting against the Moslem on the borders, had more than once intrigued for complete independence, and had as frequently been murdered by emissaries of their Asturian overlords; but at length Ordoño, heir to the crown of Ramiro II, married Urraca, the daughter of Fernan Gonzales, Count of Castile, on the promise of independence for the latter. When Ordoño III succeeded (950) he failed to satisfy his eager father-in-law, who then unsuccessfully set up the king's brother Sancho against him. Although this revolt was unsuccessful at the time, Sancho succeeded on his brother Ordoño's death, having previously married his brother's repudiated wife, Urraca. But still the Count of Castile was dissatisfied, and drove Sancho the Fat from the throne in his turn, the dispossessed king finding refuge at the court of his uncle, Garcia of Navarre, at Pamplona, with his mother, Teuda.

What followed is very instructive as to the relations between the Christian and Moslem sovereigns. There was a famous Jewish physician named Hasdai at Cordova, and thither went Sancho with his mother, to be cured of his corpulency. Not only was he successful in this, but the Caliph Abd-er-Rahman III received his royal Christian guests with a ceremony and splendour unknown in rough Asturias and Leon, and consented to send a Moorish army to replace Sancho on the throne, which Ordoño, his cousin, son of Alfonso IV, had usurped, while Garcia of Navarre agreed to attack the arch-rebel Fernan Gonzales, Count of Castile.* The programme was carried out in its entirety.

* The result of the whole series of episodes was the entire independence of the county of Castile under Fernan Gonzales, who with his vassals had missed no opportunity, fair or foul, of shaking off the yoke of Leon. The independence of Castile was the natural result

Ordoño, the dispossessed usurper, in turn appealed to Cordova, and the diplomatic Hakam, son of the great Abd-er-Rahman, delighted to be the arbiter of Christian kings, received him courteously at the lovely palace of Az Zahra, though the mere threat of Moslem interference brought Sancho the Fat to sue for peace and amity with his powerful Arab neighbour, and Ordoño the Bad remained a pensioner at Cordova, but reigned no more. To Sancho, who was poisoned, there followed his son, Ramiro III, and Bermudo II, incapables both, and by the death of the latter, in 999, the kingdom of Leon had again been driven back by the Moslems almost to its mountain birthplace, and the Christian humbly paid tribute to the Moor.

How this result came about must be related in a few lines. Abd-er-Rahman III had restored the rule of the Spanish caliphs to the highest pitch of splendour and power before he died, beloved and mourned beyond any other Moslem sovereign of Spain * (961). His son, Hakam II, had continued his enlightened policy with unabated success, and Cor-

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of persistent effort; but the chroniclers of the time tell the following curious story with regard to it: Sancho the Fat, they say, coveted a fine horse and a falcon belonging to his father-in-law, Fernan Gonzales, Count of Castile, but refused to accept them as a gift. A price was fixed for them, with the jocular condition that every day that it remained unpaid the amount should be doubled. When, later, the king and the count fell out and the latter demanded what was due to him, it was found that all Leon did not contain so much money, and Sancho was constrained to acknowledge the independence of Castile to cancel the debt.

* He incorporated into his dominions the African coasts of the Mediterranean, and inland to Fez, and with his ships captured the navies of Tunis and Egypt. He received embassies from most of the Christian powers, and it is asserted by Moorish writers that his treasury in 951 contained 20,000,000 gold pieces. By the great irrigation works introduced and promoted by him immense areas of land were brought under flourishing cultivation, and the commerce of Moslem Spain was so important, thanks to his protection, that before his death the customs dues provided the bulk of his enormous expenditure, and the capital, Cordova, contained 500,000 inhabitants.

dova under his rule became the centre of culture and scholarship of the world; but on the death of Hakam his heir Hishem II was a child of nine, and the widowed Sultana Sobeyra, into whose hands the government nominally fell, was ruled by a lover who, from the position of court scribe, had already before Hakam's death risen to a commanding place at the caliph's court. Mahomet-ben-Abdallah-abu-Amir, better known by his proud titles of Almansor-al-Allah, "the Victor of God," and the scourge of the Christians, was a man who by his supreme ability as treasurer of the army in Africa had captured the esteem of Hakam, and by his beauty of person and gallant bearing had subdued the heart of Hakam's wife.

Suppressing at the outset all attempts at opposition, this personage promptly on the death of Hakam II proclaimed the young Caliph Hishem, and energetically governed in his name, sternly overcoming the influence of Ghiafar, the former powerful minister of Abd-er-Rahman-an-Nasir, and the Slav mercenaries, who had been gained to the Berber faction. He was an upstart, and knew that to stand well with Arabs and Berbers alike he must pursue a successful forward policy toward the Christian kingdom. Ramiro III, like Hishem II, was a minor, but his mother had no strong minister like Almansor to guide her, and she could offer but little resistance to the masterful Arab, who invaded the borders of Leon with a great army in 978, and returned to Cordova loaded with booty and escorted by hosts of Christian captives. Having thus humbled Leon, Almansor in the following year (979) marched into Catalonia, and again came back to Cordova triumphant. In 981 he raided Castile and captured Simancas and Zamora, taking home with him 9,000 Christian prisoners and killing many thousands more. Ramiro, of Leon, in the meanwhile, though still but a boy, rashly took the government into his own hands, and by his presumption and violence offended most of his nobles, who

raised up a rival king in the person of Bermudo, a son of Ordoño III.

A civil war resulted, in which both sides suffered severely, one king holding Galicia and the other Leon. Ramiro, however, died young, in 984, and Bermudo II succeeded to the whole kingdom. The Christian dissensions were Almansor's opportunity, and in 983 he swept down upon Leon with fire and sword, driving the king into hiding. In 985 the terrible Arab captured Barcelona, and three years later he laid siege to the capital city of Leon. The Christians held out month after month—their own chronicles say for more than a year—but at last the city was taken by storm, amid scenes of hellish slaughter, sacked, and well-nigh razed to the ground. While the Christian king fled into the Asturian mountains the victorious Moslem marched on, leaving behind him a trail of slaughter, destroying the second city of the realm, Astorga, and reaching to far Corunna. Even the sacred city of Santiago was defiled with the triumphant Crescent of Islam, though the shrine of the saint itself is said to have been saved by a miracle. All else fell before the ruthless Almansor; and Bermudo, a humble tributary henceforward of the Moslem, was fain to give his own daughter to the victor in marriage.* Bermudo died in 999, and three years afterward Almansor's own life ended at Medina Celi.† He was by far the greatest leader of men produced by Moslem Spain.

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* Sancho of Castile subsequently gave to Almansor a daughter of his for a wife, by whom he had a son, Abd-er-Rahman Sanchuelo.

† Considerable doubt still surrounds the particulars of the death of Almansor. The Castilian chroniclers—and, it is asserted, one Arab manuscript of Ben Haiyan now in the Escorial but of questioned authenticity—relate, but very diversely, a great battle of Calatañazor, on the Douro, in which Almansor is said to have received his mortal wound. There is nothing improbable in this, although the general silence of the Arab historians and the vague and discordant accounts of the Spaniards lead to the conclusion that the battle can not have been so important as is represented. The Arab account is that, while on an expedition in 1002, Almansor fell ill and retired to Medina Celi,

With none of the glamour of royal or high descent, he contrived not only to keep the caliph practically a prisoner in his own palace, but by a combination of severity, cunning, and magnanimity to reduce to impotence the numberless conspirators against his supremacy, and to conciliate the profoundly divided elements that constituted the caliphate. He was a scholar of distinction, a lover of books, who carried with him a fine library even on his campaigns. He lavished upon men of science and letters rewards and attentions hardly exceeded by those of the learned Hakam II himself; and yet, in order to win to his side the Berbers and renegade bigots, one of his first acts was to allow them to ransack the priceless library upon the formation of which Hakam II had spent his life and treasure, in order that all books of astrology and the forbidden sciences might be destroyed, as they were to the number of tens of thousands—a loss for which all Almansor's victories could not make amends. The sultana, who was of Spanish birth, jealous of the overwhelming power of her former lover and favourite, in 996 endeavoured by a harem intrigue to free her son, the caliph, from tutelage. Summoning a general and a powerful force from the African dominions of the caliphate, the sultana decreed Almansor's banishment. But Hishem was weak, and Almansor easily obtained from him the sign manual which made him master of Moslem Spain, to the confusion of his enemies. Thenceforward till his death the great Mahomet-ben-Abdallah-abu-Amir was caliph in all but name, and when he died (1002) his favourite son Abdul Malik succeeded him in the government of a country whose nominal king was sunk in the effeminate pleasures of his lovely palace of Az Zahra, to which the masterly minister had consigned him.

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which was his base of operations, where he shortly afterward died. In any case, he died at the time in question at Medina Celi—whether from a wound or from natural illness matters not.

## A. D. 710 TO A. D. 1002

### *Summary of progress during this period*

The energies of Christian Spain were monopolized by the reconquest—one of the most important facts in the history of the world. During these three centuries it was established that the Moslem power was a receding rather than an advancing force. The need of the Christian kings for the aid of their subjects of all ranks had, in the first place, given new force to the Gothic feudal nobles, who conquered and occupied borderlands from the Moslem, and, in the second place, had extended to the towns in the reconquered districts valuable new privileges, which made them more independent than ever. The same influences caused the lower classes to grow greatly in individual freedom, and fostered the natural inclination of the people to that proud assumption of the equality of all Spaniards of Christian blood, which makes Spain, socially considered, the most democratic country in Europe. In art, industry, and commerce it may be said that little or no progress was made in Christian Spain during this period, though the seeds were sown for an enormous advance somewhat later. The successive waves of Moslem invasion, introducing so many new racial and religious elements—Syrians, Copts, Persians, and Berbers—profoundly altered the ethnology of Spain, and rendered more difficult than ever the complete fusion into one nationality of the several populations already kept apart by the physical conformation of the country.

For the main progress during these three centuries we must look to Moslem Spain. There a complete revolution had taken place in the social habits, the language, and the industries of even those Spaniards who remained Christians. Left in the enjoyment of all their liberties and treated with mildness, they willingly fell into the life of the conquerors, and shared the wealth, prosperity, and high standard of comfort they saw around them. The text of the next chapter will pass in review some of the effects of the new civilization. It will suffice here to say that under the caliphs Moslem Spain became the richest, most populous, and most enlightened country in Europe. The palaces, the mosques, bridges, aqueducts, and private dwellings reached a luxury and beauty of which a shadow still remains in the great mosque of Cordova. New industries, particularly silk weaving,

flourished exceedingly, 13,000 looms existing in Cordova alone. Agriculture, aided by perfect systems of irrigation for the first time in Europe, was carried to a high degree of perfection, many fruits, trees, and vegetables hitherto unknown being introduced from the East. Mining and metallurgy, glass making, enamelling, and damascening kept whole populations busy and prosperous. From Malaga, Seville, and Almeria went ships to all parts of the Mediterranean loaded with the rich produce of Spanish Moslem taste and industry, and of the natural and cultivated wealth of the land. Caravans bore to farthest India and darkest Africa the precious tissues, the marvels of metal work, the enamels, and precious stones of Spain. All the luxury, culture, and beauty that the Orient could provide in return found its way to the Moslem cities of the Peninsula. The schools and libraries of Spain were famous throughout the world; science and learning were cultivated and taught as they never had been before. Jew and Moslem, in the friendly rivalry of letters, made their country illustrious for all time by the productions of their study, though the greatest scientific eminence of the Cordovan and Zaragozan students was not reached until after the period we are now reviewing. Industrially and socially Spain may be said to have touched its highest point of happiness, wealth, and splendour in the time of Abd-er-Rahman-an-Nasir and his successors.

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*Summary of what Spain did for the world in this period*

It has already been mentioned that the beautiful produce of Spanish Moslem industry and the natural fruits of Spain found their way to all parts of the known world. New fruits, flowers, and vegetables were thus made known to Europe. The fashion for learning and literature was kept alive in a dark age by the Jews and Arabs of Spain, although their greatest service to culture was yet to come; and this fashion, with its refining influences and the more elegant standard of living it induced, to some extent penetrated Christian Europe.

# CHAPTER IV

## THE WANING OF THE CRESCENT

Influence of the Arabs and Jews upon Spanish character and institutions—Fusion of Moors and Arabs checked by the priests—Development of Arab literature in Spain—The arts, sciences, and industries of Christian and Moslem Spain—Discord in Christian Spain—Distinctive traditions of the Christian kingdoms—Fall of the caliphate of Cordova—Sancho the Great of Navarre—The Council of Coyanza—Fernando I of Castile and Leon—The war of the brothers—Alfonso VI of Castile and Leon—The Cid—The Almoravides—Toledo the Christian capital—The Roman ritual adopted—Urraca of Castile and Leon and Alfonso the Battler of Aragon— The Almohades.

THE Moslems had now (1002) dominated the greater part of the Peninsula for nearly three hundred years. A refined minority of Arabs, with a still more intellectual following of Jews and a vast multitude of semicivilized and fanatical African tribesmen, had been deposited as a superincumbent layer, so to speak, upon a Celtiberian stratum, profoundly saturated with Latin traditions and culture. As we have seen, the base was, to a large extent, Afro-Semitic, but the civilization was almost entirely Roman; hence it happened that racially there would have been no great difficulty in an amalgamation of the superincumbent layer with the stratum and a blending of the culture of the Semite and the Aryan, but for one comparatively recent element which stood in the way: this was the firm hold that the Catholic form of Christianity had established over the Spanish people, and the fact that the only separate national unity they had ever known

was that organized by the Church in the last century of the Gothic monarchy. Similarly the Spanish Moslems—various in race, degree of culture, and social habits—also found their strongest bond of union, when not in actual warfare, in the religious fervour induced by the establishment of the Omeyyad caliphs in Spain, and subsequently in the ostentatious fanaticism of Almansor, when it was seen that the temporary consolidation of the dominion effected by the armed strength of Abd-er-Rahman-an-Nasir was crumbling. This religious sentiment on both sides—hardly noticeable in the first few years of the Arab domination—grew in strength as the priestly castes struggled for increased influence. The canon of the Caliph Omar (717–720) had enjoined the extirpation of Christianity at all costs, and, although never obeyed to the full in Spain, it gave to successive Moslem bigots an excuse for oppressing and humiliating the Mozarabes as time went on, and it resulted at various periods in many irritating restrictions being placed on the Christians,* who, as we have seen by their obstinate self-sought martyrdom, met bigotry with bigotry; and the feeling of the two races toward each other, which at first was sympathetic, grew in time to the passionate loathing which we shall see existing in the last days of the domination.

But for the progressive religious imbitterment, there was no reason why Spain should not have become a homogeneous nation by the gradual absorption or amalgamation of the various peoples now established on its soil. A proof

* No new Christian churches were allowed to be built nor the old ones rebuilt. Moslems had the right of entering Christian places of worship by night and day. The cross had to be removed from the outside of the churches, and no hymns were to be sung in the hearing of the Moslems. Propaganda was prohibited and conversion of Christians to Islam discouraged. Christians were obliged to stand in the presence of a Moslem, and were prohibited from wearing Arab garb. These were some of the decrees issued at various times, but they were only partially enforced.

of this is seen in the rapid assimilation of institutions during the period prior to the imbitterment. The names of public officials in the towns were permanently Arabized by the Spaniards at once, although the machinery of municipal government was left untouched by the newcomers.* The comes became al kaid (alcalde and alcaide), the district governor became al wasir (alguacil), the steward became al mohtrib (almotacen), and so forth, through all grades of officials.

We have already seen how eager the Mozarabic youth was to learn Arabic, and to study Arabic literature in the splendid schools which existed throughout Moslem Spain; and to such an extent did this fashion spread that in the ninth century the Bishop of Seville considered it necessary to cause the Bible to be translated into Arabic for the use of the Mozarabes who had lost their Latin speech; and, to judge from the preface of the lost Hebrew grammar of the great Jewish Spaniard, Solomon Ibn Gebirol (Avicebron), written early in the eleventh century, the Hebrew tongue itself was in danger at that time of being swamped by the fashionable Arabic, a fate which Avicebron himself and his illustrious

* The Arab caliphate was a pure autocracy, the successor to the crown being appointed from among his family by the reigning caliph, as is still the case in Mahometan countries. A mexuar or divvan chosen by the monarch formed a council with purely consultative powers, and a hajib or prime minister carried out the behests of the caliph. The walis, who governed provinces in succession to the Gothic dukes, were responsible to the caliph direct, while the wasir (the district governor) and the kaid (the chief of a fortified town with its dependent villages) were responsible to the wali. The cadi administered justice in the towns, while the cadi of cadis, or chief justice, was the supreme court of appeal. It will thus be seen that, with the exception of the character of the monarchy itself, institutions have been but very little changed except in name. The revenue was raised by the produce of the mines, which were worked by the state, by customs dues on imports and exports, a tithe in kind on produce of every sort, agricultural and industrial, and the head tax on Mozarabes and Jews.

Jewish successors prevented.* To such an extent had Latin letters been neglected after a hundred and thirty years of Arab rule, that when Saint Eulogius took to Cordova from Pamplona, in 848, copies of Virgil's Æneid and the Satires of Horace and Juvenal, these classics were almost unknown by the Cordovese Christians. Christian Mozarabes served in the Moslem armies, occupied high posts in the caliph's palace, and, in Cordova and Seville at least, usually submitted to the rite of circumcision without repugnance. But the rise of the warlike religious feeling and the gradual advance of the Christian frontiers introduced a new element into the problem, and effectually prevented the complete fusion of races, which at one time appeared probable. The Mozarabes, with their municipal machinery intact, living to a great extent unmolested in their civil life, retained their autonomy and local existence during the long period that all central, and a large portion of southern Spain was borderland, liable to be captured and ruled alternately by Arab and Christian. Habits and, in some cases, language and relationship would make the Mozarabes incline to the side of the former, but the ever-growing influence of religion drew them to sympathy with the latter, and the result, it may be concluded, even if ample proof of the fact did not exist, was that the large Mozarabic town populations stood as much apart as possible from the actual struggle, and made the best of whatever system they lived under, since a similar tribute was exacted from them by either side, and their civil institutions and social life were not in any case seriously interfered with. The existence of these prosperous, organized municipalities, with traditions reaching back to the earliest times, when they suc-

* "I considered that the holy tongue was being lost and forgotten. Half the people speak in Idume and the other half in the false tongue of the sons of Kedar, and so our speech is sinking into the depths like lead." (Quoted by Sr. Menendez Pelayo in Historia de las ideas esteticas en España.)

cessively became absorbed in the Christian kingdoms, prevented the revival of feudal power in Spain to the same extent as elsewhere in Europe, and once more led to the development of Spanish governmental institutions on the lines of a democracy ruled by representative despots with sacerdotal sanction, rather than by kings held in check by assemblies founded on councils of barons.

The Moslem influence on the Mozarabes, however great at first, had by the death of Almansor (1002) already begun to decline before the religious bitterness engendered by the struggle of the reconquest and the bigotry of fanatics on both sides. The process continued as the Christian power advanced, and the ultimate permanent traces left upon the people by the Moors was therefore not so great as is sometimes supposed. A considerable number of Arabic words, especially those relating to offices and the sciences, naturally found a place in the bastard Latin of the Mozarabes, which eventually crystallized into the common speech of Spain; but of institutions practically nothing was left, because nothing was enforced upon the subject Christian populations; and the communities were reabsorbed into the Christian kingdoms, it is true, with some little ethnological change, and with new social habits, but otherwise with their Roman-Gothic machinery unaltered.

At the time of which we are now especially writing—the first three centuries after the Moorish conquest—the influence of Spanish Jews and Arabs upon European letters had not made itself felt. This important influence belongs to a later period, and will be referred to in its proper chronological order; but it should be remarked here that the Arabs brought but little culture to Spain with them, and most of the prodigious intellectual and literary activity which made Cordova and Toledo illustrious under Moslem rule was developed in Spain by the Jews and Moors of Spanish birth. The Arabs themselves, who formed the minority and aristocracy of the

invaders, were a new people, with less than a hundred years of united national existence when they arrived in Spain; and although they possessed much traditionary knowledge from the earlier peoples of the East, with a vivid imagination and a love of poetry, their literary culture was small, while that of the savage Berbers who formed the great mass of the Moslems was, of course, nonexistent.

The fashion of literary culture did not take hold of the Arabs until the establishment of the caliphate of Bagdad by the Abbasides, when a rivalry was developed between the Omeyyad dynasty in Spain and the usurping dynasty in Bagdad in the collection of rare books and the cultivation of literature as a fine art. The great Abd-er-Rahman-an-Nasir, who raised the caliphate of the West to its highest greatness and made Cordova a city of palaces,* laid the foundation of the great library, to the enlargement of which his son Hakam II and his grandson Hishem devoted their lives.† Persia, Syria, Greece, and Italy were ransacked by agents of the Spanish caliphs in search of books. Hakam is said to have sent a thousand gold dinars to Ispahan to obtain the first

* The description of Cordova under Abd-er-Rahman-an-Nasir reads like a fairy tale. The lovely mosque stands to-day a proof that it was not all a fable. Rest houses lined the roads miles before the city was reached, and within the walls the caliph had his Palace of Flowers, his Palace of Pleasure, his Palace of Lovers, and his beautiful Palace of Damascus on the river bank; and the citizens, following the example of their master, imitated his splendour to the extent of their means. The famous suburban town and palace of Az-Zahra, of which no trace stands to-day, was the most enchanting of them all. One third of the revenues of the state were devoted for over twenty years to its construction. and 10,000 workmen are said to have toiled for forty years upon it. Christians and Moslems vie with each other in the praise of the unexampled magnificence of this palatial suburb, with its fairy gardens, its fountains, its woods of pomegranate and almond, and, above all, its great pleasure house shining with gold and precious stones—the spoils of half a world.

† It is said that this library in the palace of Merwan consisted of 600,000 books, in every one of which the caliph had written the name of the author, with the date and place of his birth.

copy of the Anthology of Abulfaraj, which was read in Spain before it was known in the land of its origin. The schools of Cordova, Toledo, Seville, and Zaragoza, especially the first, under the patronage of the same caliph, attained a celebrity which subsequently attracted to them students from all parts of the world. At first the principal subjects of study were literary, such as rhetoric, poetry, history, philosophy, and the like, for the fatalism of the faith of Islam to some extent retarded the adoption of scientific studies. To these, however, the Spanish Jews opened the way, and when the barriers were broken down the Arabs themselves entered with avidity into the domain of science. Cordova then became the centre of scientific investigation. Medicine and surgery especially were pursued with intense diligence and success, and veterinary surgery may be said to have there first crystallized into a science. Botany and pharmacy also had their famous professors, and astronomy was studied and taught as it had never been before; algebra and arithmetic were applied to practical uses, the mariner's compass was invented, and science as applied to the arts and manufactures made the products of Moslem Spain—the fine leather, the arms, the fabrics, and the metal work—esteemed throughout the world. Agriculture and horticulture were developed to an extent unheard of before. They became, thanks to the liberality of the caliphs and the science of the students, no longer a dull trade to be followed by boors, but an attractive pursuit not beneath the attention of a scholar. Ibn Zacaria, of Seville, produced a treatise on Agriculture which is full of lore and wisdom even to-day. Canals and water wheels (norias) for irrigation carried marvellous fertility throughout the south of Spain, where the one thing previously wanting to make the land a paradise was water. Rice, sugar, cotton, and the silkworm were all introduced and cultivated with prodigious success; the silks, brocades, velvets, and pottery of Valencia, the beautiful damascened steel of Seville, Toledo, Murcia, and Granada, the

stamped embossed leather of Cordova, and the fine cloths of Seville brought prosperity to Moslem and Mozarab alike under the rule of the Omeyyad caliphs, while the systematic working of the silver mines of Jaen, the corals on the Andalusian coasts, and the pearls of Catalonia supplied the material for the lavish splendour which the rich Arabs affected in their attire and adornment.

The development of Spanish-Moorish art was somewhat hampered by the precepts of the Koran, but an innate sense of beauty overcame this difficulty, and produced a style which, although consisting at first of geometrical designs and Cufic inscriptions alone, has gained the admiration of the world for all time. Some beautiful specimens of ivory carving in this style may be studied at the South Kensington Museum, in two caskets of the tenth century, one made for the Caliph Hakam II, and the other for the wife of the great Caliph Abd-er-Rahman-an-Nasir, while a third casket, more exquisite than either, is in Pamplona cathedral, and was made for Almansor. But here distinct anti-Arab influences are visible, men and animals being represented on it, as is also the case with some bronzes found on the site of the famous Cordovese palace of Az Zahra, and many other specimens of this period. It is therefore evident that three centuries of contact with Christians and Jews had somewhat relaxed the strict notions of the ruling Arabs. We shall see later how religious bigotry again caused a reaction in Moslem Spain, and how in art, as in other things, the fusion of the two cultures was prevented by difference of faith. A similar phenomenon is noticeable in architecture. The Arabs brought with them from Syria an adaptation of the Byzantine style; noble, simple, and severe, like the mosque at Cordova, but obviously inspired by imperial Constantinople and the later Romans, as were the buildings of Bagdad and Damascus. But with the fanatical upheaval which followed the death of Almansor, and the ever-increasing enmity between Moslems and Christians

in Spain, all traces of Constantinople were gradually shed, until at last the graceful, exuberant, airy, and utterly unchristian beauty of the Alhambra and the Alcazar at Seville stands forth equally free from Cufic stiffness and Christian heaviness —a style evolved by antichristian fervour, purely Moslem and purely Spanish.

It will be necessary now to cast a summary glance at the progress of the people in Christian Spain during the period of the reconquest, up to the end of the tenth century, when the energy of Almansor had for a time driven back the Cross to the corners of the Peninsula. As soon as the first Alfonso had extended his dominions beyond the Asturian mountains it became plain that the Spaniards were not yet a nation to be moved by one impulse, but a number of imperfectly fused races, each of which looked upon its own geographical division as its exclusive fatherland. In relating the events of the earlier reconquest we have already referred to the constant dissensions among the Christians, even in the presence of a common enemy. Galicians held themselves as a different people from the Asturians—as indeed they were and still are; Basques and Navarrese had no link beyond their religion with the people of Leon; and the Catalan was then, as he remains to-day, in far closer relationship with the people of southern Gaul than with those of the Spanish Peninsula in which he lived. The Castilian, again, in whom the Iberian was stronger than the Celt, was proudly impatient of the authority of a king far away in Oviedo, and was for ever in revolt, until the independence of Castile from Leon had been wrested from Sancho the Fat. The temporary division of the realm between the three sons of Alfonso III had accentuated these discords and had rendered the conquests of Almansor the more easy and complete, although the Christian defeat, together with the anarchy among the Moslems after the death of the victor, gave new cohesion to the Spaniards and fresh energy to their subsequent advance.

The religious fervour which had presided over the establishment of the kingdom of Asturias from the first victories of Pelayo made that kingdom the depository and transmitter of the theocratic traditions of the later Gothic monarchy, and gave to the priests a power and consideration not possessed by them in the other Christian dominions; while, in accordance with another Gothic survival, the nobles of Asturias also asserted their right to elect or, at all events, to confirm the election of the kings, although the selection was now in practice limited to the family of the reigning sovereign. That the king himself was more dependent than ever he had been upon the goodwill of his nobles to occupy border territories, and so to extend his frontiers, explains the fact that for the first time he (Alfonso II) granted decrees "*cum consensu comitium et principium meorum.*" There is no doubt that the councils of these early Asturian and Leonese kings were a direct continuation of the former episcopal councils of Toledo, but the altered circumstances had increased the lay and diminished the ecclesiastical influence in them; and until 1020 the episcopal councils confined their attention to ecclesiastical affairs.

In the mountains of Navarre another realm had sprung up where Gothic traditions were weak and the tribal feeling was still in the ascendant. There the king was a purely elective chief. There was nothing sacred or sacerdotal about him. The terms upon which he reigned were a bargain, and his power was discussed and limited before it was conferred upon him. He was sworn to maintain the rights of his constituents, and to adopt no important decision without the counsel and consent of 12 ricoshomes or higher nobles. He was bound to divide all his conquests among his own people, and was limited in the exercise of his power by a host of prerogatives possessed by the various classes of his subjects; and in every case the grant to him of the crown was conditional upon his respect for the rights of those who conferred

it upon him. Later this constitution was extended to Aragon, which at first was an appanage of Navarre.

The organization of Catalonia also proves its origin. There Frankish traditions, rather than Gothic, were in the ascendant, and, as a consequence, the hereditary nature of the sovereignty was established without question, and the feudal principle was much stronger than elsewhere. There, as in the rest of Christian Spain, the Fuero Juzgo of the Gothic kings was adopted as the law, but a large number of new enactments, or "Usages," were added by the counts, to bring the Gothic code into accord with the Frankish sentiments of the Catalans. The first of the "Usages" were issued by a council of churchmen in Gerona, and confirmed in 1068 by a purely lay Cortes in Barcelona.*

The most important, and the first, of the written political charters † was that granted for the kingdom of Leon in 1020, a few years after the period now under review. This was the work of a council of bishops and nobles sitting in the city of Leon, and it constituted a veritable revolution in the status of the people. The hereditary right of the serf to the land he tilled was recognised, in order that he might fight the Moor with greater obstinacy in defence of his own. The vassal was for the first time allowed to change his master at his own will, and in numerous ways the servile classes were rendered more independent. Most important of all was the concession to the municipalities of untrammelled administrative and primary judicial functions, subject only to the king.

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* The "Usages" of Barcelona grafted a regular feudal representative system on the Latin Gothic code. The nobles, divided into counts, viscounts, and gentlemen, were allowed jurisdiction in their several districts, their right over their vassals being supreme and only limited by the "custom of the country," which all must obey, just as the right of the king was nominally supreme over the nobles.

† That of Sobrarbe, the alleged original of the charter of Navarre, is extremely doubtful, though probably some sort of agreement, written or verbal, existed from the first between the sovereigns and people of Navarre.

Important charters were also granted to various towns by the first Counts of Castile, which confirmed and extended the rights of the municipalities and increased the independence of the individual citizen. These, and still more the very liberal charters granted to the city of Najera, and others by the King of Navarre (Sancho Garcia), all bear the same character. The kings were powerless to fight the Moor and extend their boundaries without the free and liberal aid of their subjects; the cities had not much reason to prefer one domination to another, and their assistance had to be bought by the sovereigns by the grant of privileges and immunities, which might repay the citizens for the sacrifices they made. Thus it happened that, according to the king's need, the charters of the various towns and peoples were more or less liberal, and in every case the communities drove as hard a bargain as they could with the sovereign who needed their assistance.

We have seen that the political institutions of the various divisions of Christian Spain differed according to the circumstances; and the same peculiarity is noticeable in the position of the Church. In Asturias and Galicia, which had first been stirred to religious zeal, the crusader feeling was paramount. To a people engaged in a holy war, aided by Santiago in person, and in almost daily commune with saints and angels, their own all-pervading devotion was sufficient. Their king was an anointed minister, and they felt the need of no Pope; so for three centuries in the northwest of Spain the Church assumed a truly independent and Spanish character, hardly even keeping up a semblance of dependence upon the Roman pontiff. Three councils of ecclesiastics, in continuation of the councils of Toledo, were held in Asturias and Leon in the tenth century, but they were confined to ecclesiastical matters, and it was not until 1020, when the council already mentioned met in Leon (and another at Coyanza, in 1050), that the bishops, again in a majority, as in the

days of the later Goths, practically decided matters of state and government for the kingdom of Leon.

On the other hand, in the states of eastern Spain—Catalonia, Navarre, and Aragon—the clergy had not the same reason for pre-eminence, for there the Christian fought the Moor, not primarily for Christ's sake, but for land to be won; and the Church there never lost touch with the papacy, because it never went outside its sphere of clerical ministration.

During the three hundred years of which we are now speaking Spanish Christian science and art were practically dead. In the din of war the schools were hushed, and, with the exception of architecture, which to some extent the building of churches encouraged, Christian Spain has little to show for this period except the extension of the frontier. Even in architecture no fresh style or movement was introduced until the second half of the eleventh century, when the cathedrals of Santiago and Avila and Saint Isidore, at Leon, were built. The incursion into Spain of French monks from Cluny, and the influence they exerted upon ecclesiastical affairs, introduced the style of southern France into Spanish architecture, just as the Norman conquest brought in a new Romanesque style of building into England. But, as in England, the native races of Spain soon set their own impress upon the foreign style, and, as we shall have occasion to remark later, the ecclesiastical architecture of Anjou and the Cluny school developed in Spain into a characteristically national style, which existed until the Renaissance turned men's minds to new and more fanciful ideals.

In literature there was nothing specially Spanish during this period in Spain. Christian bishops, like John of Seville and Cyril of Toledo, continued the later Latin traditions with lives of saints and the like, while the heroic deeds of the reconquest were recorded by the chroniclers Sebastian of Salamanca, whose history extended from the accession of Wam-

ba to the death of Ordoño I (866), and Sampiro, Bishop of Astorga, who carried the chronicle to the death of Ramiro III (982). A few churchmen in Christian Spain wrote Latin verses on the sacred mysteries, and among the Mozarabes of Cordova especially, Saint Eulogius and Alvaro the Cordovese wrote works in florid and questionable Latin;* but as yet Spanish letters had not shaken off the last clinging Roman tatters and assumed a garb of their own.

The centralizing system inaugurated by Abd-er-Rahman-an-Nasir of alienating the powerful Arab nobles from the government and surrounding himself with Slav mercenaries succeeded for a time in postponing the inevitable disintegration of the caliphate, but with the removal of the strong hand of Almansor division and discontent again were able to gain the upper hand. Hishem, the caliph, was still kept in his silken toils by Abdul Melik, the son of Almansor, who walked in his father's footsteps for six years. But when he died and Abd-er-Rahman Sanchuelo, the son of Almansor by a Christian princess, succeeded him, the storm broke. The old Arab aristocracy had been to a great extent crushed, but a new aristocracy of courtiers and parasites had arisen, which, with the Berber generals and the Slav mercenaries, had not spared their greedy exactions under the shadow of Almansor. The scholarly, refined Arab of Cordova had become ever more lax and sceptical with the constant familiarity with Jews and Mozarabes, and with the fashionable devotion to letters and science in the schools, while the numerically superior African element scowled with increasing hate and distrust upon the unrestrained luxury and doubtful orthodoxy of the richer cultivated classes. The division was, however, now not so much racial as social and religious, for the effeminate refinement of the few meant the abasement of the many; and the

*To this must be added the chronicle of the Arabs usually but erroneously attributed to a certain Isidore of Beja, but certainly the work of a Cordovese.

revolution which broke out in Cordova against the government of Almansor's half-Christian son was seized upon by the discontented of all Moslem races, and had far-reaching effects, of which its first promoters never dreamed. An Omeyyad prince called Mahomet rose (1008) and demanded the liberation of the Caliph Hishem, which having effected, he forced the weak caliph to abdicate in his favour, killing Sanchuelo, and in derision sticking his head upon a cross. Pretending that Hishem had died, Mahomet proclaimed himself caliph, under the name of Mahdi. A Berber revolt under Suleiman, aided by Sancho Garcia, Count of Castile, then drove Mahdi out of Cordova to Toledo, upon which the leader, Suleiman, assumed the title of caliph, and in his turn was defeated and expelled by Mahdi in alliance with Ramon Borrell, Count of Barcelona. The unfortunate Hishem was then liberated by the Slav mercenaries and again called Caliph, Mahdi being beheaded, and his son, who had made a stand at Toledo, sacrificed with awful cruelty.

For a short time matters were tranquil under the restored Hishem, but the insolence of the Slav soldiery disgusted the Cordovese, who summoned and welcomed Suleiman, and he again became caliph, and murdered Hishem (1018). Famine and pestilence followed in the footsteps of this cruel civil war, and most of the provincial walis, unable or unwilling to meet the new caliph's demands for aid, refused to acknowledge him, and raised a prince of the Omeyyad family to the caliphate, under the title of Abd-er-Rahman IV. For the next twelve years the most complete anarchy prevailed. One so-called caliph after another rose, and in due time was murdered or expelled. The provinces refused obedience to the government, and one after another the walis proclaimed themselves independent amirs.

On the death of Motad (1031) the caliphate of the West finally fell, amid blood and shame unutterable, and, in place of a united empire of Islam to face the advancing Christian,

there appeared 12 little kingdoms,* jealous of each other, weak and disunited, certain, sooner or later, to fall a prey to their enemies. That they kept a footing so long as they did was not owing to their own unity, but to the division of their foes.

While Moslem Spain was thus a prey to anarchy, the Christian kingdoms could more than hold their own. The King of Leon, Alfonso V (son of Bermudo II), was an energetic young sovereign, who once more took up his abode in his capital city and occupied his patrimonial domain as the confused hosts of Islam fell back. In his newly rebuilt capital he summoned the great council of bishops and nobles (1020), to which reference has already been incidentally made, the first council of political importance held since the disappearance of the Gothic theocracy. There was no pretence of limiting the acts of the council to ecclesiastical affairs, and the 20 laws it passed specially relating to the government of the realm may be considered as the foundation of the constitution of Leon, while the 31 municipal ordinances were a veritable charter for the capital city. The reign of Alfonso V of Leon, like that of his predecessors and successors, was one long story of bloodshed and violence: wars against Castile, the last count of which, Garcia, was murdered in 1026; against Navarre, and against the Moors; and when, in 1027, Alfonso V fell at the siege of the Moslem town of Viseu, he left to his young son, Bermudo III, a legacy of war which lasted for the rest of his days.

The great quarrel was with Sancho the Great of Navarre (970–1035), who had married the sister of the Count of Castile, and on the murder of the latter by the Velas, *protégés* of Alfonso V of Leon, Sancho claimed and took Castile in right of his wife, whose younger sister had married Bermudo III.

* They were the kingdoms of Malaga, Algeciras, Seville, Toledo, Zaragoza, Cordova, Badajoz, Valencia, Granada, Almeria, Murcia, and the Balearic Isles.

Sancho of Navarre was now the most powerful monarch in Spain, ruling as he did Navarre, Aragon, and Castile; and he had little difficulty in overrunning the dominions of his Leonese brother-in-law.* Thanks, however, to the bishops, an agreement at last was made by which the King of Navarre retired from the city of Leon, which he had conquered, and Bermudo's sister married Fernando, second son of the King of Navarre, the latter ceding to Fernando the county of Castile, thenceforward a kingdom, and the portion of Leon which he had occupied in the war. The unhappy Bermudo tried in the following year to upset this arrangement that deprived him of a slice of his territory; but Sancho the Great again marched through Leon, and drove his brother-in-law into the mountains of Galicia, where he was forced to submit.

On the death of the powerful Sancho, in 1035, his realm was divided among his four sons, and this division encouraged Bermudo of Leon to make one more attempt to wrest Castile from his young brother-in-law, Fernando; but Castile and Navarre united were too strong for him, and Bermudo died defeated at the battle of Tamaron (1037), when the male line of kings of Asturias and Leon became extinct.

In right of his wife, the sister of the dead Bermudo III, Fernando of Castile claimed the vacant crown of Leon, and his successful seizure of it marks a new departure in Spanish history, since, for the first time, the doctrine of purely hereditary claim, even through the female line, was admitted. Castile, which, by the unwise will of Sancho the Great, had again been separated from Navarre and Aragon, thus by the addition of Leon—though on this occasion it was only temporary—became the most powerful realm in Spain. Fernando I was a man of exceptional wisdom and energy. Determined to consolidate his recently united territories, he has-

* The pretext for the war was the objection of Bermudo III to the fortification of Palencia, which, although belonging to Castile, is geographically in Leon.

tened to confirm to the Leonese the charters that had been granted to them by the Council of Leon in 1020, and summoned a new council to meet at Coyanza (1050), which was, in fact, nothing short of a parliament, in which nobles, at the summons of the king, sat with the prelates, although the latter alone voted on ecclesiastical questions, while the entire assembly voted on civil matters.

The whole of the charters of Leon and Castile were confirmed by this important council, but matters of pressing moment in the Church were also dealt with. The practical independence of the papacy of this branch of the Spanish Church had caused discipline to become lax, and all manner of corruption had crept into the ceremonial and liturgies. The great increase of monastic foundations, too, prompted at first by the Christian exaltation of the reconquest, had now become a scandal, and the management of the monastic houses a disgrace. Strict measures were adopted to reform these abuses, all the monasteries being submitted to the rule of Saint Benedict, and brought under the immediate control of the bishops.

While this energetic King Fernando I was thus reorganizing his realm, with the intention of subsequently making an advance upon the Moslems, his brothers—sons of Sancho the Great of Navarre—fell out with regard to their respective shares of territory. Garcia, King of Navarre, was at war with his brother Ramiro, King of Aragon, and coveted the territories of Fernando of Leon and Castile. Feigning illness, the elder brother, Garcia, invited Fernando to visit him at Najera; but, learning on his arrival that a trap was set for him, Fernando escaped from Navarre, and fled to his own territory. It was then Fernando's turn to fall ill and invite Garcia to Castile; but no sooner had the elder brother appeared than he was clapped into prison, from which he afterward escaped by the aid of some Castilian nobles. Swearing vengeance against his brother for this treachery, Garcia as-

sembled a Navarrese army and invaded Castile, but was met and killed by Fernando at the battle of Atapuerca (1054). Fernando, however, forebore to push his victory to extremes, and, keeping only a small corner of Navarre to round off his own Castilian dominions, seated upon the throne of Navarre his nephew, Sancho, the son of the dead King Garcia. Fernando then went against the Moors and conquered Viseu and Coimbra, which extended the frontiers of Castile farther south than they had yet permanently reached. The incursions of Fernando were pushed farther still, into the valley of the Tagus; and then, emboldened by success, he laid siege to the important frontier town of Al-Kalaa-en-Nahr (Alcalá de Henares), which was the key to the kingdom of Toledo, and though he did not capture it, the King of Toledo only saved his city by consenting to become thenceforward a tributary of Castile. This was the crowning, and the last, triumph of Fernando's life. He had struggled and fought for unity of territory from the first; but yet so strong was old tradition still in him, that he, like his father, Sancho of Navarre, before him, undid in his death the work of his life, and divided once more his realms between his sons (1065). Sancho III inherited Castile, Alfonso Leon, and Garcia Galicia and Asturias, while Urraca, his eldest daughter, succeeded to the independent town of Zamora, and Elvira, the younger, to the territory of Toro.

Hardly had the great king breathed his last before bitter rivalry arose between the brothers, of which the first outcome was "the war of the three Sanchos." The eldest son, Sancho, King of Castile, discontented at his father's generosity after the battle of Atapuerca, claimed the kingdom of Navarre from his cousin Sancho, by right of Fernando's victory of ten years previously. Sancho of Navarre summoned his other cousin, King Sancho of Aragon, to his aid, and together they inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Castilian Sancho, who with difficulty escaped from the affray (1068).

But Sancho III of Castile was determined, if possible, to increase his realm at the expense of somebody, and attacked his brother Alfonso of Leon. The armies of the two brothers met on the river Pisuerga, near Valladolid, and after an indecisive engagement both kings retired to prepare for a final trial of strength. This took place in 1071, when at the battle of Golpejar the Castilians were signally beaten, and Alfonso of Leon showed in his triumph that he could be magnanimous by allowing his brother to retire without pursuit. But he reckoned without his Sancho. While the Leonese were resting, and rejoicing at the disappearance of their enemies, the Castilians returned, took them in the rear, and cut the whole force to pieces, the unfortunate Alfonso being immured in the castle of Burgos, from which he was only released at the prayers of his sister Urraca, and upon a promise to retire to the monastery of Sahagun, whence he escaped and took refuge with the Moorish King of Toledo, while his ambitious brother, King Sancho, marched through conquered Leon to the realm of his youngest brother Garcia, whom he expelled from his throne of Galicia.

But there were the two tiny lordships of his sisters yet to conquer. With but little difficulty he seized the territory of Toro from the younger, but the elder, Urraca, was of the same metal as himself, and withstood him fiercely behind her fortress walls at Zamora. During the siege a Leonese noble lured Sancho to a spot near the moat where he said there was a weak place that might be stormed, and the ambitious king fell, stabbed to death by the dagger of the traitor, not without angry whispers from the Castilians that his murder had been connived at by Urraca, his sister, and his brother, Alfonso of Leon.

Sancho's death (1072) made his brother Alfonso VI King of Castile and Leon, and we now enter upon one of the most interesting periods in the history of Spain, partly on account of the importance of the events themselves, and still more

because the wealth of tradition, of poetry, and of legend which surrounds the great national hero allows us to obtain for the first time a really clear view of the state of society and morals, both of the Christians and the Moslems. The news of Sancho's murder before Zamora reached Alfonso in his refuge at Brihuega, which town the friendly King of Toledo, Al Mamún, had assigned to him as a residence. Instead of endeavouring to escape, Alfonso hurried to Toledo to inform his courteous host of his accession. It was well he did so, for Mamún had the news, too, and had taken measures to prevent Alfonso's clandestine departure. The Moor was, however, touched by the chivalrous trust of the Christian king, and the two swore friendship and alliance, offensive and defensive, to be binding upon Al Mamún and his immediate successor.

Alfonso was greeted with extravagant joy by his loyal Leonese, but the Castilians were sulky and apprehensive, for they knew that their new king had many a grudge and injury to repay. The man who had advised Sancho of Castile to take his treacherous advantage over Alfonso and the Leonese at the battle of Golpejar in the previous year was a Castilian knight, who, although only thirty years of age, already held high command, and was renowned for his skill and daring in combat. Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar, the Cid,* as he came to be called afterward, was a truly Spanish type of swashbuckler—a direct ancestor of those swaggering captains who ruffled, gambled, quarrelled, and betrayed in the service of Henry VIII of England and his son, and of those indomitable soldiers and unconscionable scoundrels who overran America with a handful of men, and by their cruel greed turned a paradise into a hell. Careless of life, his own or that of others, brave to a fault, impatient of restraint, vain and boastful, false

* From the Arabic Sidi = Lord. While Christians usually refer to him by his Arabic title, Moorish writers more often call him by his Christian style, El Campeador = the Challenger.

and covetous, and yet with a certain rough chivalry of an elastic and variable sort, the Cid Campeador, as he is portrayed both in the Christian poems and chronicle and in the contemporary Arab chronicles,* was the first famous embodiment of a distinct national type in which the proud independence of the Iberian prevails, and as such was fittingly seized upon by poets and story-tellers to personify the heroism of his race.

Considering the part he had borne in the war against the King of Leon, it is not surprising that Alfonso VI distrusted him. An assembly of Castilian nobles had been called at Burgos to go through the form of electing the new king and swearing allegiance; but Castilians were ever jealous, and the blood of their King Sancho, murdered by a man of Leon at Zamora, was not yet dry. No wonder, then, that they murmured distrust of Alfonso, and sought to make sure that their Castilian liberties should not suffer under the King of Leon. According to the poem (written about fifty years after the Cid's death), the only noble bold enough to beard the new sovereign was his former foe, Rodrigo Diaz of Bivar, who, before they would acknowledge him as king, roughly exacted an oath from Alfonso, in the presence of 12 nobles of Castile, that he had not been privy to his brother Sancho's murder. As may be supposed, this could not increase Alfonso's love for the bold noble, and we are told:

"Three times the Cid has given the oath,
Three times the king has sworn.
With every oath his anger burned,
And thus he cried in scorn:
'Thou swearest me where doubt is none,
Rodrigo, to thy sorrow;
The hand that takes the oath to-day
Thou hast to kiss to-morrow.'"

* For particulars of the Arab writings referring to the Cid, see Dozy, Récherches sur l'histoire de l'Espagne, Leyden, 1881, vol. ii.

and when Alfonso VI was firmly seated on the united thrones of Castile, Leon, and Galicia * he recollected the affront that the Cid had placed upon his sovereign.

The utter demoralization of the Moslem power in Spain gave to Alfonso VI an opportunity which he was not slow to accept. The petty Moorish kings had no more idea of patriotism than had the Christians. Each little sovereign was intent on his local interests alone, and one after the other they appealed for support to the strongest man in the Peninsula, the King of Castile and Leon, whose dominions reached from the Bay of Biscay to the valley of the Tagus. To the King of Toledo, who had sheltered him in his tribulation, Alfonso was bound by treaty, and when the kings of Cordova and Seville attacked the Moor of Toledo the King of Castile came to the aid of his old friend Al Mamún, and captured the cities of Cordova and Seville; but on the retirement of the Christians they fell into the hands of their own chiefs again.

On the death of Al Mamún of Toledo (1075) and the dethronement of his eldest son, Hishem Al Kadir, by the fanatic Moslems for his friendship to the Christians, Alfonso's obligations toward the kingdom of Toledo ceased. The new King of Toledo, Yahia, soon displeased his subjects by his tyranny, and they appealed to Alfonso to help them. Nothing loath, the Christian king joined with the King of Seville, Al Motamid, whose daughter he took as a wife—or legalized concubine, for he was already married for the second time to Constance of Burgundy—and prepared for the conquest of Toledo. In the meanwhile Valencia, a vassal state of Toledo, revolted; and the viceroy, Abdul Aziz, undertook to pay a heavy tribute to Alfonso in return for his protection and recognition. When, however, Alfonso's army compelled the

* The dispossessed Garcia, King of Galicia, had taken refuge with the Moorish King of Seville on Sancho's conquest of his realm. When he came back to claim it his other brother, Alfonso, imprisoned him and kept Galicia.

submission of Toledo, the terms agreed upon included the complete surrender of the city to the Christians and the recognition by Alfonso of the ex-King of Toledo as King of Valencia, notwithstanding the fact that Alfonso had already sold his new suzerainty of Valencia to the Moorish king of Zaragoza for 100,000 gold pieces, and Abdul Aziz of Valencia was paying the Christian tribute as well. The dispossessed King of Toledo accordingly went off to win back his state of Valencia as a tributary of Castile, and the Christian capital was transferred to Toledo (1085).

The Cid had been banished from Castile, and had entered the service of the Moslem king of Zaragoza (for, as he is reported to have told Alfonso, all kings, Moslem and Christian, were alike to him so long as they paid him his price) and had taken command of a Zaragozan army to attack Ramon Berenguer III, Count of Barcelona. He defeated the Christians with great slaughter at Almenara (1081), and brought back the sovereign-count a prisoner. Then he bore the banner of Islam against King Sancho of Aragon (1083) and defeated the Christians again. Such success as this gained for Ruy Diaz not only honour, but that which he coveted still more, for " he fought that he might eat "—riches untold. In 1085 he went to enforce the King of Zaragoza's claim to the overlordship of Valencia, for which the Moor had paid Alfonso; and when the latter was besieging Zaragoza, the news came to him that a new enemy had appeared in the land.

A great wave of Berber fanaticism had swept over north Africa, and the savage tribesmen, incited by Marabouts, had everywhere destroyed the rule of the Arab. The African peoples in Spain itself had long ago lost their strength amid the enervating luxury of their Arab rulers, and it occurred to the King of Seville to invite the victorious Berbers over the Straits of Gibraltar to aid the Moslems to withstand the King of Castile, who was fast making all Spain his tributary

and becoming more extortionate every year. The Marabouts (Almoravides, as the Spaniards called them), under their great puritan Moslem leader, Yusuf, crossed from Africa like a swarm of bees and settled on the land. Alfonso, sensible of the danger to the Christian cause, hurried down from Zaragoza to near Badajoz and met the Almoravides at Zalaca. The Christian army had gone from victory to victory, and Alfonso of Castile and Leon was confident in the valour of his men; but Yusuf was a great tactician, while Alfonso was not, and, taking the Christians in flank and rear, he mowed down the chivalry of Spain as the sickle lays the corn.

With a band of horsemen only Alfonso fled from the field, and the Castilian army disappeared from the face of the earth. Yusuf, the stern, savage, fanatic, rude and unlettered, kept his word, and retired with most of his army to Africa after he had done his work. His moderation saved Christian Spain, for if he had continued his advance, as Tarik had done in 711, there was nothing to withstand him. But the breathing space allowed by his departure enabled Alfonso slowly to reorganize his strength. Alfonso had kept his promise to the young dispossessed King of Toledo, and by the costly lances of Christian knights had established him in Valencia. But with the coming of the Almoravides to Spain, Alvar Fañez and the Christians were withdrawn from Valencia, and the fanatic townsmen turned against their king as a friend of the Christian tyrant Alfonso. The Cid, although summoned by the King of Castile, did not appear in time to fight at the battle of Zalaca; he probably thought that he might be more profitably employed. In any case, with his own fierce band of mercenary soldiers—men of all nations and conditions—and the army of the King of Zaragoza, he raided the kingdom of Valencia, where the unfortunate young king was at issue with his subjects, and finally secured the surrender of the capital by a pair of false promises: first, to the King of Valencia that he would support him against his subjects; and

second, to the King of Zaragoza that he would deliver the realm to him. He did neither completely, but made the King of Valencia pay him a monthly tribute of 10,000 gold dinars, while professing all possible loyalty to the disappointed King of Zaragoza. He thought, doubtless, that it was also necessary to give some sort of excuse to his own Christian sovereign for his high-handed proceedings, and while he was plying Alfonso with lying protestations, the King of Zaragoza enlisted his former enemy, the Count of Barcelona, as his ally, and again attacked Valencia on his own account.

After this (1089) the Cid seems to have considered himself free to do as he pleased. He was no longer an officer in the service of this or the other king, though Alfonso had pardoned him, but an independent freebooter, with a picked army of 7,000 desperadoes, who levied princely blackmail on Christians and Moslems, especially the latter, wherever he could enforce it.

The sums he is said to have received are enormous. If the Christian accounts are to be credited—which in this case they probably are not—the Cid was inspired all through with the exalted Christian zeal of a crusader. If the Arabic chronicles are true, he was a plundering, bloodthirsty cutthroat, without conscience, justice, or humanity. He was really, in all probability, a good representative of the rough generation in which he lived.

Attacking the Zaragozans and Catalans before Valencia, he defeated them with great loss (1090), capturing, for the second time, the Count of Barcelona, whom he held to ransom for 80,000 pieces of gold—which were never paid. Alfonso, however, was determined that his too-powerful subject should not become independent sovereign of Valencia, and advanced against the city. The Cid retorted by invading Alfonso's Christian territory, ravaging and slaughtering as he went; and when the King of Castile abandoned Valencia to protect his

own land, the Cid, finding the gates of Valencia shut against him, sat down before the coveted city to capture it again by siege (1093). If we are to believe a tenth of what the Arab chronicles tell, the man must have been a monster of cruelty. In mere sport human creatures were torn to pieces by savage dogs before his eyes, and every day in sight of the doomed city the prisoners of the previous day were slowly roasted alive. Famine and pestilence inside, the awful Cid outside, reduced Valencia to despair; and at length, after nearly a year's agony, it fell. Then vengeance upon those who withstood him was wreaked to the full, and for the rest of his life, until 1099, Ruy Diaz reigned in Valencia as king, independent alike of Moslem and Christian. When he died his sovereignty fell, and three years afterward his wife Jimena carried his body to his native Burgos, there to lie in sanctity and honour in the great monastery of Cardenas until our own days, when in 1842 the bones were moved, thenceforward to be made a tourist's peep show in the townhall of Burgos, the city of the Cid.*

The popularity of the Cid as a national hero has never waned. The facts of his history, as told in the Cronica, the poem, the ballads, and in the Chronicle of the Youth of the Cid, leave no doubt as to his real character; but the constant assertion that he was moved by Christian zeal, though contradicted by the facts themselves, has been sufficient to surround him with the halo of a saint, while his constant acts of defiance and disloyalty to his sovereign have been condoned because it has flattered and pleased the Iberian spirit to consider them as the assertion of public liberty as against the encroachment of the royal power.

The establishment of the Christian capital at Toledo by Alfonso VI is an event of the first importance, as marking

* In the cathedral, too, is the ancient box which he and his trusty Martin Antolinez pledged, filled with sand, to two confiding Jews, who accepted his word that it was full of gold.

a period of radical change in the position of the Spanish Church in Castile. Alfonso VI had promised the Moors that full toleration should be given to their religion, and that the great mosque of Toledo should continue to be devoted to the faith of Islam. The bishop, a French monk named Bernard, however, took advantage of the king's absence to violate the agreement, and seized the mosque for Christian worship, greatly to Alfonso's anger. The queen, Constance of Burgundy, was on the side of the churchman, and Alfonso, who naturally was a tolerant man, allowed himself to be led. Already Catalonia and Aragon, which had to some extent kept touch with the papacy, had, at the request of the Pope, Alexander II, banished the old Gothic ritual, and had adopted that of Italy (in 1071);* and the powerful Gregory VII had endeavoured to bring the Church of Castile and Leon into the pontifical fold by means of an embassy demanding tribute to Rome, and, above all, the adoption of the Roman ritual in all Spanish churches.

The king, though ruled by the French queen and her abettor and countryman, the Bishop of Toledo, probably knew and cared little about liturgies and rituals, and was willing to acquiesce; but the Church itself had thitherto been independent and self-sufficing. Under its ægis alone the little band of Spaniards had issued from the rugged Asturian

* Two important councils were held in Aragon under Ramiro I. At the last, held at Jaca in 1063, the king acknowledged the authority of the Church as being superior to his own, and granted to the Pope a tithe of all conquests he might make and of the tributes he imposed upon his subjects. This grant was formally approved of by a general meeting of the inhabitants of Jaca, which fact alone marks the great difference between the primitive institutions of Aragon and Castile. The agreement of the whole commonalty, by the votes of such as might be present, to the decisions of the nobles was purely Germanic and feudal—Saxon as well as Frankish. In the native Iberian system it was unknown. The Goths in Spain were a noble class, and spoke for themselves alone; the people's only expression was through the municipality or the Church, not through the nobles.

mountains, and by the aid of God and Santiago had conquered Spain for the Cross. The pontiff had done nothing—not even blessed the enterprise; and Castilian clergy and laymen alike, jealous of their independence, fought against the subjection of their national Church to a foreigner. To decide the question, first the ordeal of single combat was adopted, and the champion of the old ritual was the victor; then the ordeal of fire was resorted to, and in a great blazing pile in Toledo the two missals were solemnly cast. The Roman book was consumed and the Gothic missal came forth unscathed. Rejoicing at their victory, the people thought their old national ritual safe; but, as the proverb arising out of the occasion says, "*Alla van leyes, do quieren reyes,*" and Alfonso VI of Castile and Leon, with a stroke of the pen, submitted his realms to the Pope's dictation. Thenceforward for seven centuries the papacy strove to fasten and keep its clutch upon the Spanish Church, and the Castilian sovereigns endeavoured to make use of the papal prestige while keeping the control of their national Church as much as possible in their own hands. The result, as we shall see, was an endless series of political bargains, in which the papacy was finally only partially successful.

After Yusuf, the leader of the African Almoravides (Marabouts), had defeated the Christians at Zalaca (1086) he had returned to his own land, leaving a portion of his army to aid the King of Seville; but in the course of three years Alfonso VI had reorganized his forces and again recommenced his raids far into Moslem territory from the vantage ground of his great city of Toledo * and the captured fortress of Aledo. The Cid, too, was ravaging far and wide from his base at Valencia, and once more the King of Seville summoned the Emperor of Maghreb with his puritan Moslem army to roll back the still advancing Christian tide. This time (1090) the

* He arrived on one occasion as far as Tarifa, where he rode his horse into the sea as a sign that he had reached the extreme point.

Almoravides came in a different mood. The kinglets of Spanish Islam had failed to take advantage of the Christian defeat; they were refined and cultured tyrants, making often common cause with Christians against each other, neglecting the law of the Koran, and in a hundred ways shocking the stern puritan Moslems, whose aid they invoked in their quarrels.

The religious class in Mahometan Spain itself was profoundly discontented with their sceptical and tolerant rulers, and seconded Yusuf and the Almoravides when they determined to make a clean sweep of the weak tyrants, whose capitals were, for the most part, centres of fastuous splendour, out of all proportion to their size and wealth; homes of voluptuous poetry, of dilettante learning, of bloodshed, misery, and vice. Yusuf began with Granada, wealthy beyond dreams with exquisite works of art. The amir and his family were captured and sent to Africa; and gold, silver, precious stones, rich stuffs, illuminated manuscripts, ivory carvings, and priceless enamels were distributed among the rough Marabout soldiery. The army of Castile was once more defeated, and then from city to city the puritan Africans marched, overthrowing the sovereigns; until, three years after the death of the Cid, Valencia itself fell into their hands, and all Moslem Spain became a province of the African empire of the Almoravides, under the rule of Ali-Abdul-Hassan, the son of Yusuf, who on his father's death (1107) handed the government of Spain to his brother Yemin. This prince inflicted upon Alfonso VI a crushing defeat at Ucles (1108), in which fell the Christian king's only son Sancho, whose mother was Zaida, daughter of the former Arab King of Seville; and the loss of the battle and his son broke the great Alfonso's heart. With the death of the King of Castile and Leon (1109), after a reign of forty-three years, the impetus given by his energy to the reconquest ceased, and the completion of the task, which would have been easy now in the hands of an able

Christian king, was indefinitely delayed by local jealousies and incapable leadership.

Alfonso's daughter Urraca was already a widow, Raymond of Burgundy having been her first husband; but her character was known to be light and frivolous, and her subjects, warlike and impatient of restraint, were unused to the idea of being ruled by a woman, especially an unwise one. Before Alfonso died negotiations had been commenced for her marriage with Alfonso I of Aragon, the great-grandson of Sancho the Great, whose kingdom of Aragon had now been extended south to the north bank of the Ebro. Alfonso the Battler, as he was called, was a young man of great military gifts and boundless ambition, but harsh and rough in manner, and his marriage with Urraca, Queen of Castile and Leon—which, if the parties had been of different character, might have hastened the Christian conquest by four hundred years—was a fruitful source for many years to come of trouble, division, and bloodshed.

After a year of discord the king and his wife separated; but Alfonso the Battler had no intention of allowing Castile and Leon to slip through his hands, and placed Aragonese garrisons in some of the principal Castilian fortresses, confining his wife in the castle of Castelar. Castile and Leon at once rose in arms in defence of their queen, and demanded a divorce for her on the ground of the consanguinity of Alfonso and Urraca, who were both descendants of Sancho the Great of Navarre. Alfonso the Battler then invaded Castile, aided by Henry of Portugal,* and inflicted a complete defeat upon his wife's people at Sepulveda (1111), advancing far into Leon.

Then for the first time in the history of Spain there arose a new element in the settlement of affairs. Urraca was popu-

* Alfonso VI had conferred the county of Portugal on Henry of Burgundy, who with his brother (the first husband of Urraca) had aided him in his struggles with the Moslems.

lar with her nobles—two at least of whom were her lovers—but the people in the towns looked with dislike upon her proceedings, as they and the clergy had both regarded unfavourably her marriage with Alfonso; and they had no interest in a war which had arisen solely in consequence of that marriage.* It has already been explained that successive sovereigns of Leon and Castile had granted extremely wide charters to many of the cities and towns whose corporate government was the oldest civilized institution in Spain. These towns had hitherto taken no part in the political affairs of the country, but they now became the mouthpiece of the citizens and middle classes generally; and at first certain towns in Galicia, to be followed rapidly by others in Leon and Castile, proclaimed the six-year-old Alfonso, son of Urraca by her Burgundian first husband, their sovereign, under the title of Alfonso VII.†

The initiative had been taken by the towns, but the whole country speedily followed. Henry of Portugal, whose only thought was his own advancement, changing sides and joining the Castilians, together they drove King Al-

* The clergy especially were opposed to Alfonso the Battler of Aragon, of whose hatred of the Church they speak with much bitterness. He is accused of turning churches into stables, of destroying the famous Monastery of Sahagun, of banishing that famous monk Bernard, Bishop of Toledo, and of the even more celebrated Gelmirez, Archbishop of Santiago. The king's distant relationship with his wife was also a subject for the disapproval of the clergy, and it may be accepted as almost certain that the action of the towns in proclaiming the child Alfonso (the emperor) king was prompted by the clergy, and more especially by Gelmirez, Archbishop of Santiago. See Prudencio de Sandoval, Chronica de Alfonso VII.

† The reason why Galicia, especially, proclaimed young Alfonso as king while his mother Urraca lived was that a portion of the province had been granted in fief by Alfonso VI to Raymond of Burgundy on his marriage with Urraca. Alfonso VII (the emperor) is often spoken of as Alfonso VIII, in order to distinguish him from his stepfather Alfonso I of Aragon (the Battler), who assumed the style of Alfonso VII of Castile and Leon by right of his sometime wife Urraca the Queen.

fonso of Aragon away from Astorga and arranged a treaty of peace between him and his wife, which Alfonso the Battler promptly proceeded to break soon after it was signed. But the Castilian clergy in the meanwhile had settled with the Pope for a declaration of nullity of the marriage between Alfonso and his wife Urraca, and thenceforward the Battler had no excuse for interfering with his wife's dominions; although the enmity and mutual aggression between the two peoples still continued.

The intrusion of the towns into the government of Leon and Castile was resented by the nobles, the clergy wavering from one side to the other, the queen, Urraca, being generally in favour of the nobles. The struggle, which on some occasions reached almost the proportions of a civil war, lasted till the death of Urraca, in 1126, but it was an indication that the growing middle classes in Christian Spain would not suffer the fastening upon them of aristocratic rule, as was happening in the rest of Europe; and thenceforward the Spanish municipalities took an important part in governing the country, Alfonso the Emperor, whom they had first acclaimed, naturally siding with the towns, when, on Urraca's death, he became unquestionably King of Castile and Leon.

Alfonso the Battler of Aragon, his stepfather, in the meanwhile fought ceaselessly against the Moslems, carrying the victorious standards as far south as Andalusia, and beating the Almoravides in many pitched battles. Zaragoza became his capital city, Calatayud and Daroca were added to his dominions, and Aragon became, with the addition of Navarre,* under the indefatigable Battler, only second to Castile in strength. When the king died, at the battle of Fraga (1134), he left no son; but the priests in his latter days had influenced him to make amends for his irreligious youth, and

* The King Sancho IV of Navarre in 1076 had been murdered by his brother Ramon, and the Navarrese nobles had proclaimed as their king Sancho of Aragon, the father of Alfonso the Battler.

by his will he left his kingdoms to the Knights Templars and the Knights of St. John.

Neither Aragon nor Navarre would accept a foreign community as sovereign; and after much quarrelling, Aragon brought out from his monastery Ramiro the Monk, Alfonso's brother, and made him king, marrying him, by permission of the Pope, with a princess of Aquitaine, while Navarre chose for its sovereign a son of its former native sovereign Sancho IV. Constant wars and dissensions were the result of the fresh separation of Navarre and Aragon, in which Alfonso VII of Castile (the emperor) aided first one and then the other, and sometimes both against the Moslems, until he claimed their fealty, and thenceforward arrogated to himself the title of Emperor of Spain on the strength of it. Ramiro the Monk, of Aragon, soon tired of matrimony and his throne, and summoned the nobles and clergy of Aragon to Barbastro (1137) to accept his abdication in favour of his infant daughter Petronilla, who was already betrothed to Ramon Berenguer, Count of Barcelona, sovereign of Catalonia, who was proclaimed regent of Aragon—a fortunate and happy arrangement, which thenceforward brought to Aragon the splendid ports and coast of Catalonia, and assured prosperity to the joint dominions during the lives of Ramon Berenguer and his wife Petronilla.

In the meanwhile the rule of the Almoravides had entirely changed the condition of the Mozarabic populations in Moslem Spain. The tolerant, refined Arabs themselves were disgusted at the rough fanaticism of the Atlas tribes who had displaced their rule, and their discontent was gradually being organized into resistance and revolt; but the Mozarabes were in much worse case,* and in many districts they found their

* Alfonso the Battler of Aragon transported enormous numbers from Andalusia and Valencia after his raids, to repeople the districts he had conquered on the banks of the Ebro. As many as 10,000 families were brought from Andalusia at one time.

position intolerable. The Almoravides were a sect rather than a people, although most of them were drawn from two tribes of the Atlas; and their marvellously rapid success in Africa and Spain had in a great measure been due to religious fervour and to the discontent of the subject peoples with the laxity of the Arabs, rather than to any fitness or aptitude for government in the Almoravides themselves. Success, moreover, had taken away much of the energy which at first made them so terrible; and other Atlas tribes, more fanatical than they, descended from their arid mountains, led by a man who proclaimed himself as Messiah and endeavoured to overturn the African empire of the Almoravides. Their chief was a fanatic of the religious class, the son of a lamp tender in the great mosque of Cordova. Having studied in the East, he commenced by preaching in Spain against the laxity of the Moslems; and being banished by the Almoravide emperor Ali, he had retired to the Atlas to organize his force. He was at first defeated; but his successor, Abdul-Mamún, in 1127 swept away the Almoravide rule in Maghreb, and at the invitation of the discontented and revolted Arabs of Spain, as well as of the chiefs of the Almoravides, who also sought their aid, the Almohades crossed the straits to give the deathblow to the oppressive Almoravide rule (1145).

It was indeed rotten to the core, and invited destruction. The stern puritanism of the sect had already been in fifty years sapped by the easy life and luxurious habits of Andaloos. The rulers, instead of withstanding the advance of refinement, as at first, did their best to imitate the overcultivated preciosity of the Arabs they had supplanted, and to patronize poetry and scholarship, while the rough Atlas Almoravide soldiers had sunk into the lowest depths of corruption and dissoluteness in the soft surroundings of southern Spain. The Christian raids extended now unchecked to the coasts of Andalusia, and with the fall of the Almoravide empire in Africa, Moslem Spain again split up into as many

kingdoms as there were towns, each little realm preying upon its neighbours. The Mozarabes and Jews, whom the Almoravides had persecuted, and in many cases banished, were in a majority in some districts, and proclaimed separate kingdoms and republics or placed themselves under the protection of the Christian kings.

In this condition of anarchy the appearance of the Almohade—or Unitarian Moslem—host at Algeciras (1145) was welcomed by most peaceful Moslem citizens, who above all yearned for security of life and property, both at the mercy now of the tiny tyrant under whom they lived, or of his enemies if his people ventured outside the walls of his stronghold.

The fanatics of the Atlas once more trailed their fierce hordes through the south of Spain, for none of the Moslem princes or self-appointed chieftains were strong enough to withstand them. Algeciras, Seville, Malaga, and Cordova, soon afterward followed by Almeria and Valencia, fell into the hands of the Africans; and by 1149 all Moslem Spain acknowledged the rule of the Mahdi, the seat of whose empire was on the other side of the straits, Cordova being the capital of the wali, who was sent from Barbary to govern the province of Andaloos. Thenceforward cruel oppression, when not extermination, was the hard fate of Mozarabes and Jews wherever Islam was paramount, and every city in Moslem Spain had a considerable body of its inhabitants praying, yearning, and secretly working for the triumph of the Christian cause.

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A. D. 1002 TO A. D. 1150

*Summary of progress during this period*

The various Christian kingdoms had continued to develop their institutions on separate lines. The constant pushing forward of the Christian frontiers and the disintegration of the

Moslem power, with the consequent oppression of the Mozarabes and Jews by the African fanatics, had brought great populations under Christian rule whose ancestors for centuries had lived side by side with the Moslems. After the conquest of the kingdom of Toledo great numbers of Mahometan Spaniards also remained under Christian rule. All of these people brought into Christian Spain new habits, new industries, a new philosophy of life, and new racial elements, and set a deep impress upon the future character of the people. The conquest of Toledo as the Christian capital and the new policy of the conqueror toward the vanquished people thus marks a new epoch in the history of Spain. Hardly less important events were the submission of the Church in Castile to the papal dictation, and the federated action of the towns of the northwest in electing Alfonso VII King of Galicia. This, as will be seen in the next chapter, was the forerunner of a greater movement which decided the future development of Castilian institutions. Another event of importance at this time was the periodical meetings in Castile and Leon of the councils of bishops and nobles as legislative assemblies, a development of the Latin-Gothic theocracy that had existed before the Arab conquest, which marks the growing power and ambition of the nobles in their attitude toward both the king and the lower classes, especially after the Cortes (first so called) of Najera, in 1137, consisting almost entirely of nobles. Though romance, culture, and poetry were spreading south from Provence into Spain, the time for the full renaissance of Christian art and industry had hardly yet arrived, although the absorbed Mozarabes and Jews, especially in the east of Spain, were at the end of the period under review bringing new prosperity to the places where they had settled; and the church architecture introduced into Spain from southern France was assuming the special Spanish-Romanesque character which distinguished it from its original model.

The anarchy which for so long afflicted Mahometan Spain during this period had acted injuriously on commerce and industry, though both revived somewhat during the settled rule of the Almoravides, and in the twelfth century commercial treaties were made by several kinglets with Genoa, Pisa, etc. But, as will be seen in the text, the new African domination introduced an entirely new spirit in art and architecture. Luxury, refinement, literature, and learning in Moslem Spain had now become a craze and an obsession, as often happens with decadent

peoples; and this, among a hundred other signs, showed that neither the Moslem faith nor the races could cope successfully with Christianity and the hardier people of the north.

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### *What Spain did for the world in this period*

The period now under review was the commencement of that in which Spain did a priceless service to the world. It was the Jews of Cordova who first restudied the sciences and philosophy which the Greeks had adapted from the learning of still earlier civilizations. They were followed in time by the Arab scholars; and the universities of Moslem Spain became centres of culture where the knowledge of the ancients was translated by Jews and Arabs into their living tongues, to be transmitted in other languages in due time to all the nations of the earth. At a time when Europe lay in darkness Cordova was the home of the exact sciences; astronomy, mathematics, medicine, botany, and even surgery, were studied deeply and patiently; and thus, centuries before Erasmus was led back to the original fountain, the clear rill of Greek learning ran unchoked through Cordova to the rest of the world.

# CHAPTER V

## RELIGION AND LEARNING IN MEDIÆVAL SPAIN

The religious bond of union between the Christian Spanish races—The migration of the Mozarabes—Its influence on institutions—Germ of representative institutions—The Hermandades and Spanish feudalism—Alfonso the Emperor—Alfonso VIII and Eleanor Plantagenet—Berenguela of Castile and Alfonso IX of Leon—Saint Fernando and the reunion of Castile and Leon—Aragon and Catalonia—Jaime the Conqueror—His vast projects—His contests with the nobles—Conquests of Saint Fernando—Intellectual and social progress of Spain in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—The Troubadours—Castilian language and literature—Alfonso the Learned and his works—The influence of Spanish Jews and Arabs on European learning—Arts and handicrafts—The growth of luxury in Spain—National amusements—The Spanish clergy—The increase of religious intolerance.

THE coming of the Almohades introduced into Spain the last great infusion of African blood, and the component elements of the Spanish race were now complete. It will be useful to consider here to what extent the character of the people had been altered by the successive waves of invasion. It is easy to overestimate the racial influence exercised by invading armies. The terror they cause and the importance of the political events they often produce are apt to make us forget that a few thousand or more of men may easily be assimilated by a race without greatly altering the features of the latter. Although the geographical formation of the country was unfavourable to the racial amalgamation of the peoples of the Peninsula, and even to the present day extraordinary ethno-

logical variety continues to exist, yet the long Roman domination of Spain had given to the inhabitants such unity as is to be effected by community of language and law. We have seen that the Germanic invaders had found this unity so strongly established that they were forced to accept it. Subsequently the adoption of Athanasian Christianity by the Gothic kings, and the theocratic government which resulted, gave another bond of union to the Spanish people; so that on the arrival of Tarik and his 12,000 Berbers, Spaniards of all varieties of race could look upon them as foreigners, because different from them in language, creed, and law.

The tolerant Arab rule, which gave perfect freedom in these three important particulars to the native peoples in Moslem Spain, while it facilitated social assimilation and communication, prevented anything like a fusion of race, by encouraging the Mozarabes to live in separate communities.* While, therefore, a considerable amount of intermarriage must have taken place, it can not have been sufficient to make the Mozarabes other than Spanish in race. The granting of manumission to all Christian slaves and serfs who embraced the creed of Islam by simply pronouncing the formula drew a great number of Spaniards of those classes into the Moslem people, and these latter must have been much more tinged with Spanish blood than were the Mozarabes with Moorish.

During the first three centuries of the reconquest the Moors in the captured provinces were generally driven forth or exterminated by the Christians; but after the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile a different policy was adopted. The enlightened king, who had himself married an Arab wife, and admired the culture and industry of the Jews and Moslems, encouraged the conquered peoples

* A similar process is exhibited in the case of the English Jews of the present time. Perfect toleration and social equality, while causing them to become English in language and habits, tend to the continued separation of the races by means of religion.

(Mudejares) to remain under his sway, guaranteeing them complete toleration, and encouraging marriages between Christians and Moors. This unquestionably introduced a large admixture of Moorish blood into the population of certain districts, the effects of which are easily discernible at the present day.

At the same time the rigour at first of the Almoravides, and subsequently of the Almohades, caused the migration of large masses of Mozarabes from the Moorish districts to the centre and north of Spain, where they established new communities in the districts depopulated by war, bringing with them the arts, handicrafts, and habits which they and their ancestors had learned from the Arabs. Of purely Arabic blood the infusion must have been but small, for the enormous majority of the invaders had been Berbers and other peoples of the Atlas, of racial origin and traditions similar to the original Spanish stock. With the exception, therefore, that the newcomers had not had the advantage of Roman civilization, the two elements were not dissimilar, and the racial effect of the admixture was mainly to confirm the already powerful tendency of the people to assert individual independence and to localize patriotism.

As the Christian reconquest gradually advanced the towns which fell into the hands of the conquerors or were formed by the establishment of new communities of Mozarabes received charters either from the kings, or, more frequently, from the nobles who held in vassalage from the king fresh districts they had overrun. As has already been observed, the granting of these charters in every case implied a bargain between the town and the lord; and practically for the first time introduced anything like feudal relations between the municipalities and the new military aristocracy, which by right of conquest and grant from the king held the soil. The Roman and Romano-Gothic principle of democracies supervised by high officials appointed by a Cæsar fell into abeyance; and

once more we have in juxtaposition the two ideas: the Germanic, in which an hereditary lord of the soil gave protection to vassals living upon it in return for certain services; and the other, the original Iberian tradition, modified by Latin organization of self-constituted democratic municipalities mostly independent of each other.

But the constant presence of an enemy who was more a foe to the lord than to the town made the latter in Spain the more important element in the partnership, and enabled the municipalities during the reconquest to become veritable little tributary republics under the general rule of the king. The immunities granted by the charters to the towns not only increased the wealth of the latter directly, but also added to their population and importance by driving into them large numbers of rural dwellers, who, by taking refuge in the free cities, escaped the individual oppression and extortion exerted by the lords of the soil outside the possessions of the tributary chartered towns.* When, however, the reconquered country became more settled and the Moorish enemy less to be feared, the nobles endeavoured to override the charters their predecessors had granted, and, taking advantage of the feebleness of royal authority, began to oppress and pillage towns, and generally to assert feudal tyranny, such as existed in France, Germany, and England. Then it was, at the

* It must not be forgotten that in nearly every case there was a considerable territory attached to the towns outside the walls, some of it being private property, but most of it belonging to the commune. The towns themselves were not by any means exclusively industrial, but depended largely upon the tillage of their territories; and their interior organization, for the most part—though the varieties of type were many, according to the origin of the community—was not purely democratic, but a compromise between democracy and aristocracy. There was a distinct division of classes in the towns, the "gentlemen villains" (*caballeros villanos*) sitting in the town councils and forming the mounted portion of the municipal forces. In many towns half of the councillors only were gentlemen, the other half being free citizens of lower rank, who were elected specially to represent the interests of their class.

end of the thirteenth century, that the strength of the municipalities and of the Latin democratic idea became apparent, and the foundation was laid of the modern state of Spain.

The action of the municipalities at this juncture finally prevented the predominance of feudal privileges in the kingdom of Castile and Leon, and formed the nucleus of the representative government which ruled Spain for over two hundred years. Thirty-four towns met by deputy in 1295 and signed a solemn act of brotherhood under the title of the "Hermandad de Castilla." The incorporation sets forth that since the death of Alfonso X pillage and aggression had been rife in Castile, and that for the defence of the king's authority and the greater repose of the country the towns formed themselves into a confederacy with a common seal and periodical meetings. A joint armed force was raised, strong enough to withstand any individual noble, and if any member of the brotherhood suffered wrong he was fully avenged; even if the king's officers acted illegally they were punished.

The meetings of this important confederacy, to which other towns—to the total number of 100—speedily adhered, were called extraordinary Cortes, and not only passed rules for their own defence, but also adopted laws which were sent to the sovereign and enforced as if they had been royal decrees. The victory of the communities over the feudal element was, however, not won without a hard and long struggle, as will be seen in the course of this history; nor was the victory even for a time complete, or Spain might probably have developed into a federal republic like Switzerland. This, at least, the nobles prevented by bringing themselves and their vassals into the jurisdiction of the towns, of which, especially in the south, they captured and corrupted the municipal government. In the struggle between the two powers the king supported both alternately, in order to hold the balance, and finally obtained for himself the right of nominating mayors and aldermen, which in the course of time, as will be

related, ruined both the municipal independence and the democratic national representation, and turned Spain into a pure despotism depending upon popular but inarticulate consent.

Alfonso VII (the emperor) passed his life in advancing the standard of the Cross against the disorganized Almoravides. Once the fortune of war brought the Moors to the gates of Toledo; but in 1147 Alfonso, with a combination of Mediterranean powers anxious to suppress piracy, of which Almeria was the centre, conquered that city, and soon afterward (1150), saddened by the death of his wife, Berenguela of Catalonia, the emperor abdicated, unwisely again dividing his realms between his two sons, Sancho becoming King of Castile and Fernando of Leon. Seven years afterward, when the newly victorious Almohades were besieging Almeria, the emperor again donned his warlike harness and beat back the besiegers, but died of fever immediately afterward, leaving his two kingdoms under different monarchs.

Another kingdom also sprang up in the Peninsula during the reign of Alfonso the emperor. It has already been related that Alfonso VI granted Portugal north of the Douro as a tributary county to Henry of Burgundy, who had married Alfonso's younger daughter Teresa. Both the Burgundian and his wife from the first endeavoured to make their territory independent, and Alfonso VII more than once was forced to resort to arms to compel his aunt to obedience, until at length the lady herself, as lax in her life as had been her sister Urraca, was expelled by her Portuguese vassals, and her son, another Alfonso (Enriquez), was proclaimed sovereign. Alfonso Enriquez at once took the offensive against his cousin and suzerain, Alfonso VII of Castile, but was brought to his knees and recognised the overlordship of the latter. Alfonso VII of Castile then accorded to Alfonso Enriquez of Portugal the absolute dominion over all lands he might conquer from the Moors and occupy south of the

Douro; and with this incentive the Portuguese prince promptly carried his banners to the Tagus, gaining a signal victory over the Moors at Ourique in 1139, after which he thought himself strong enough to proclaim his complete independence of Castile. Alfonso VII hurried to teach his turbulent cousin another lesson of obedience, when the bishops and priests intervened; and the emperor was weak enough to allow the question to be referred to the Pope (Innocent II), who decided in favour of Castile.

The Portuguese, however, cleverly offered to hold his dominion as a vassal of the Holy See, and although Innocent II himself could hardly go back on his own decision, his successors, Lucius I and Alexander III, accepted the Portuguese offer, and Alfonso Enriquez was acknowledged King of Portugal by Rome. Thenceforward, and on perfectly insufficient grounds, the realm of Portugal was separated from that of Spain, and the interference of the papacy in the affairs of the Peninsula, and of Christendom generally, was accepted without demur.

Sancho III, King of Castile, eldest son of Alfonso VII the Emperor, died a year after his accession (1158), leaving to his infant son, Alfonso III of Castile,* a realm torn with civil war,† and open, almost defenceless, to the raids of the vigor-

* The enumeration is confusing, in consequence of the frequent union and separation of Castile and Leon. This Alfonso III of Castile alone is almost always known as Alfonso VIII, which really would have been his style if he had been King of Leon as well.

† The pretext for the civil war was the appointment by the will of King Sancho III of Gutierre Fernandez de Castro as guardian of the infant King Alfonso III (VIII). The great rival family of Lara resented this, and the kingdom was split into two warring factions during the minority, although the Castros surrendered the regency to the nominee of their rivals, who then cruelly persecuted the Castro faction. This gave to Fernando II of Leon (the uncle of the infant king) an excuse for interference and for the seizure by the King of Navarre (Sancho the Wise) of a slice of the Rioja. The Laras were finally victorious, after a sanguinary battle at Huete, and the Castros took refuge among the Moors.

ous Almohades, who reached as far north as Avila in their destructive incursions. The Africans, too, were determined in their efforts to subdue the now separate little kingdom of Portugal, and after years of fighting were on the point of winning the important fortress of Santarem, when the death of the Moslem emperor, Yusuf ben Yacub, threw the Moors into a panic, and Fernando II, King of Leon, hurried to the aid of Alfonso Enriquez in time to inflict a disastrous defeat upon the Moslems.

Civil strife and little internecine wars between Castile, Leon, and Aragon continued until the young King Alfonso III (VIII) of Castile gained his majority, when all was changed. He married wisely and happily in the same year (1170) Eleanor Plantagenet, daughter of Henry II of England, and with enormous energy, ability, and diplomacy brought Castile into a condition of safety and order. The Almohades were allowed no rest; and notwithstanding the jealous enmity of the other Christian states at the success of the King of Castile, the latter extended his borders farther and still farther south to Jaen and Andujar, and on one occasion reached the extreme point of Algeciras, and bade defiance to the Almohade emperor across the straits. This was more than could be borne, and in the following year (1195) the Moors inflicted a great defeat upon him at Alarcos, where the Castilians lost 20,000 men. This encouraged the King of Leon, Alfonso IX (son of Ferdinand II and grandson of Alfonso the Emperor of Castile), to invade the realm of his Castilian cousin, and the war was only ended by the marriage of Alfonso IX of Leon to Berenguela, daughter of Alfonso III (VIII) of Castile by Eleanor Plantagenet.

Berenguela was a woman of exceptional strength and ability. She had originally been betrothed to Conrad of Swabia, son of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, but had repudiated the arrangement when she came of age; and her marriage with Alfonso IX of Leon was in all respects a wise

one, as it again portended the reunion of the realms of Leon and Castile. But Innocent III was riding roughshod over the nations of Christendom. He had already forcibly dissolved a marriage between Princess Teresa of Portugal and this very Alfonso IX of Leon who was to marry Berenguela, and had excommunicated both bride and bridegroom; and now he pronounced the new marriage invalid on the same ground of consanguinity,* Leon being placed under the papal interdict.

For seven long years the semi-wedded pair and the kingdoms of Leon and Castile struggled against the pontiff's decision, and in the interval several children were born to Alfonso IX of Leon and Berenguela; but in the end the princess had to return to her own country, an unmarried mother, though the Pope, with a fine disregard for consistency, recognised the children as legitimate, and Fernando, the eldest son, remained with his father as the heir to Leon.

The crushing defeat of the Castilians by the Moors at Alarcos had been followed by a renewed quarrel and a little war between Castile and Leon; but Alfonso III (VIII) of Castile was burning to retrieve his disaster, and contrived a coalition between all the Christian powers, to which the Popes (Innocent III and Urban II) granted the privileges and indulgences of a crusade. The Almohades answered by themselves preaching a jehad, and Christian knights from all Europe flocked to fight, under the banner of the Cross, the zealous warriors of Islam.

Ten thousand horse and four times as many foot marched as a vanguard under Don Diego Lopez de Haro. Pedro II of Aragon led in person his own powerful army, while Alfonso III headed his Castilian host, and the brothers Giron commanded a vanguard of 40,000 men. Churchmen and princes, nobles and knights, of all lands, vied with each other

* Alfonso IX of Leon was the grandson, and Berenguela the great-granddaughter, of Alfonso VII of Castile (the emperor).

in their zeal and splendour, although the chroniclers hint that the foreign adventurers were far more trouble than they were worth, and most of them turned back when they reached the torrid south. But the native armies, as they threaded their way through the passes of the Sierra Morena, guided by Mozarabes, heard news which raised their hopes to the highest. The African troops brought over by the Almohade emperor had already offended, by their savagery and insolence, the native Andalusian Moslems, most of whom were partly of Spanish blood, and division consequently reigned in the hosts of Islam. Deserters led the Christians by defiles to a position from which the Almohades might be surprised, and like a torrent the chivalry of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre swept down upon Mahomet ben Yacub and his bodyguard of 10,000 negroes and 3,000 camels. In the midst of the fight the Andalusian Moslems withdrew, and the great battle of Navas de Tolosa was won * (1212). Thenceforward the Moslem power in Spain was a decaying one, and the great forward Christian movement which followed both on the side of Castile and Aragon reduced the dominion of Islam within a generation to one insignificant kingdom, which survived, almost on sufferance, for another two centuries, but never extended its borders.

Two years after the battle Alfonso III (VIII) of Castile

* The Christian chroniclers give the principal honour of this great victory to Rodrigo, Archbishop of Toledo, who, with many other prelates, was foremost in the fight. It is said that when Alfonso himself had begun to despair the archbishop assumed command of the vanguard, and with irresistible dash led the Christians to victory. The peasant who is said to have guided the Christian host by the mountain defiles to surprise the Moslem was, so the churchmen tell us, no other than Saint Isidore, the patron saint of Madrid, whose ploughing was done for him by angels while he was at prayer. Legends innumerable have been woven around the story of this memorable victory, and Alfonso himself wrote to the Pope that 100,000 Moslems were killed and 25,000 Christians; but however that may be, the defeat was serious enough to cripple the Almohades for ever and to break irretrievably the power of Islam in Spain.

died, leaving a son of eleven years of age, who became Henry I of Castile. Once more, as in the days of Alfonso's minority, the Laras objected to the regent chosen by the nobles and clergy on the death of the young king's mother, Eleanor Plantagenet, a year after her husband. The king's aunt Berenguela, the papally repudiated wife of Alfonso IX of Leon, was the regent selected, and a wiser or more patriotic ruler it would indeed have been difficult to find. But Alvaro Nuño de Lara contrived to seize the regency, though swearing to Berenguela not to impose fresh burdens upon the people or to conclude treaties with foreign countries without her consent. Don Alvaro violated his oath almost as soon as it was pronounced, and the nobles and prelates of Castile met in Cortes at Valladolid, and prayed Berenguela to resume the direction of affairs. Before, however, she could act, Don Alvaro, as regent, dissolved the Cortes, and cruelly persecuted Berenguela and her friends. But the little King Henry, while playing in the courtyard of the bishop's palace at Palencia, suddenly met his death by a tile blowing loose and falling on his head, and Berenguela became legally Queen of Castile.

The first thing was to gain possession of her son Fernando, who was in the keeping of his father, the King of Leon. If Alfonso IX learned that his eldest son was heir to Castile he might make him serve his own ambition. So by an artifice Alfonso was persuaded to allow his son to visit Castile before he learned of young King Henry's death. When Fernando arrived his mother, Berenguela, convoked the Cortes of nobles and prelates of Castile at Valladolid (1217), and after receiving their homage as queen, at once abdicated in favour of her son Fernando—famous afterward for all time as Fernando the Saint, under whom Castile and Leon were again united, to be severed no more. The Laras, supported this time by Alfonso IX of Leon, the King of Castile's father, again promoted civil war; and once more the armies of father

and son, of husband and wife, met. The queen-mother Berenguela, as heroic in war as she was diplomatic in council, at length, partly by arms and partly by negotiation, effected peace and alliance; and Fernando III of Castile was free to embark upon the great career of conquest which gave the valley of the Guadalquivir to the Christians, after five hundred years of Moslem domination. While he was besieging Jaen (1230) Fernando learned from his mother (Berenguela) that his father, Alfonso IX of Leon, had died, leaving by will his kingdom divided between his two daughters Sancha and Dulce * by his first (and also papally repudiated) wife, Teresa of Portugal. The reunion of the realms had been the dream of Berenguela's life; and while summoning her son to come in person, she hurried to Leon, and, convoking the nobles, caused Fernando to be proclaimed king; then proceeding to the Portuguese frontier, she arranged with the mother of the infantas—like herself a former wife of Alfonso IX of Leon—for an equitable surrender of the infantas' claims. Thus Leon and Castile became permanently one, and the foundation of a united Spanish monarchy was laid (1230).

Almost simultaneously with the consolidation of Castile and Leon and the advance of Saint Fernando into Andalusia, a similar process was being effected in another Christian nation of the Peninsula. We have had on many occasions to remark that the lines of development in the northeast of Spain had been different from those of the northwest. We have seen that the kingdom of Asturias, gradually developing into

* In order to strengthen the hands of his daughters, Alfonso IX had negotiated a marriage between the elder, Sancha, and the victorious and powerful young King Jaime I of Aragon. The latter was already married to Eleanor, the youngest daughter of Alfonso III (VIII) of Castile, a half-sister of Berenguela, and consequently aunt to Fernando III, and a divorce was granted by the Pope on the usual ground of consanguinity; but before the matter could be completed Alfonso IX of Leon died, as here related, and Fernando of Castile ascended the throne of Leon. Jaime the Conqueror therefore did not marry the infanta.

Leon and Castile, was evolving a practically newborn civilization out of the *débris* of the ancient systems which had preceded it—a civilization which was neither entirely Germanic aristocratic, nor Ibero-Latin democratic, but a compromise between the two, dictated by the special circumstances of the reconquest. The entrance into Spain by land was much easier and more frequented on the east end of the Pyrenees than on the west; and from the earliest times the populations of the coast of the Gulf of Lyons and southern Gaul had fused with those on the northeast coast of Spain. Frankish influence, as we have seen, had ruled Catalonia since its conquest from the Moors at the beginning of the ninth century, and its princes had during most of that period also held large territories on the north of the Pyrenees, as the early Visigoths had done before them. The French relationship was therefore very much stronger in Catalonia than in any other part of Spain, and ethnologically and socially the country was, and still remains, absolutely distinct from Castile.

The principality of Catalonia had by the marriage of Petronilla, daughter of Ramiro the Monk of Aragon (1137), been joined to the latter kingdom, so far as regarded the personality of the monarch, although the laws in each case remained intact, and the autonomy of the states was preserved. In Aragon, too, the traditions of government were different from those of Castile. From the first erection of Aragon into a lordship by the King of Navarre the feudal nobility had been more powerful and independent than had been the case in northwestern Spain, where the later Gothic tradition of a sacerdotal king with an ecclesiastical council had survived, and where the reconquest was looked upon as a divinely inspired crusade. The kings of Aragon, like those of Navarre, were the creations of a need; they were not the semi-divine transmitters of the theocratic monarchy of the last Visigoths, but superior feudal chiefs, chosen first by their fellow-chiefs because it was necessary to have one leader over many. The

King of Aragon was reminded on every possible occasion that his power was strictly subject to the law, and that he would only be regarded as king while he did right. Both in Aragon and Catalonia the higher nobles, who held "honours," were practically independent sovereigns with power of life and death over their subjects, and were only bound by the "Usages"; and though in ordinary civil cases the king's law court was supreme, in all questions of dispute between the sovereign and the nobles in Aragon the supreme judge or arbitrator was the irremovable justiciary, with knights and nobles as assessors. The feudal nobles of Aragon and Catalonia had not found themselves at issue with the common people to the same extent as those of Leon and Castile, because both in Aragon and Catalonia the Ibero-Latin idea of democratic independence under a supreme Cæsar was comparatively weak, and the Germanic aristocratic system was in accordance with the general feeling of the population. The result of this was that the nobles and the towns, to which charters had been given very liberally by the crown and the feudal lords, made common cause to prevent encroachment by the royal authority; and the deliberative assemblies both of Aragon and Catalonia included representatives of the towns (1133) before such a thing was heard of in Castile (1169).* It will thus be seen that the Cortes of Aragon and Catalonia, like the Parliament of England, grew out of councils of territorial barons; whereas in Castile and Leon the Cortes sprang from the association of free towns, while the earlier ecclesiastical and feudal assembly retained a separate

* The Cortes of Aragon consisted of nobles, clergy, and burgesses, the nobles at a later period dividing their order into two branches, higher and lower. The *brazos* deliberated apart, and their joint final decisions were conveyed by the nobles to the king. The king convoked the Cortes and proposed legislation, but no large supplies could be obtained without the vote of the Cortes. It is plain that the nobles played the principal part; but the king, being head of the executive and of the armed forces, was practically master.

existence as the sovereign's council. This explanation is necessary in order that the divergent march of affairs in the two groups of kingdoms in the Peninsula may be rightly understood.

Pedro II of Aragon and Catalonia, the grandson of Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona, by his marriage with Petronilla, Queen of Aragon, had a son born to him at Montpellier in 1208. The kings of Aragon by constant intermarriages with the princely houses in southern France had obtained large territories on the north side of the Pyrenees, and were as much interested in the affairs of France as in those of Spain. Simon de Montfort, with a great rabble of crusaders, was harrying Toulouse, Béarn, and Provence on the pretext of stamping out the Albigensian heresy; and in one of the many diplomatic phases of the affair, Jaime, the infant heir of the King of Aragon, was betrothed to marry the daughter of the Count of Toulouse, Simon de Montfort retaining the custody of the child prince (1211).

The truce thus sealed was soon broken, and the armies of Toulouse and Aragon were defeated in 1213 by de Montfort, King Pedro of Aragon falling in the fight, leaving his five-year-old heir in the hands of the enemy. Aragon was a prey to civil discord, but united in its demand to have its young sovereign restored to it. Pedro II of Aragon had received his crown from the Pope, and held his kingdom as a papal fief,* and on the intervention of the Pope, after much negotiation, the child, King Jaime, was at last (1214) handed over to his subjects in his city of Narbonne, whence he was carried to Lerida, and there received the oath of allegiance

* This action on the part of Pedro II was bitterly resented by the Aragonese nobles; and when on the king's return he endeavoured to raise the funds to pay the papal tribute, the higher nobility or hereditary *ricos homes* formed a league sworn to resist all attempts of the Pope to exert his suzerainty. The subsequent quarrels which continued to occur between Aragon and the papacy were founded upon these events.

of the Cortes of Catalonia and Aragon, consisting of prelates, nobles, and 10 burgesses from each city.

The legate of the Pope had been the spokesman and leader in the affair, and the infant king had been seated on the knees of the Archbishop of Tarragona during the ceremony. The legate it was also who appointed the governors and the regent of Jaime's realms during the minority; and in all things it was apparent that the influence of Rome as suzerain of Aragon was in future to be paramount. The king's uncle Sancho was regent, but was opposed by most of the feudal nobles of Aragon, who sided with another uncle, Fernando the Monk. While the nobles and regent were quarrelling the young King Jaime was growing up strong and masterful, and before he was ten years old took matters into his own hands, escaped from his keepers, fled to Zaragoza, and there threw himself into the arms of his subjects.

Thenceforward until his death the life of Jaime the Conqueror, King of Aragon, was one of constant strife. A brutal, strong, crafty man, rough and dissolute, but one of the great leaders of the world, he did for Aragon what Saint Fernando did for Castile, and much more; for while Fernando and Jaime both added fresh Moorish kingdoms to their own, and left their territories consolidated—the two great rival realms of Spain—Jaime alone entered upon a far-reaching foreign policy, which, though it was unsuccessful in its prime object, the foundation of a great Romance empire, yet impressed upon Aragon traditional lines of expansion to which are owing indirectly Spain's greatness and ultimate downfall.

Jaime's first successful forward movement was upon Majorca,* the Moorish inhabitants of which, it was said, had

* The expedition to Majorca was purely Catalan, and the Catalan nobles and prelates were liberal in their contributions; but Aragon had nothing directly to gain by it and there the war was unpopular, while an attack on Valencia was desired by the Aragonese.

piratically molested Catalan commerce, and in 1228 the King of Aragon came back to his city of Tarragona a victor, having added the Baleares to his dominions. Ten years afterward Valencia was conquered and constituted a separate realm, with a constitution moulded upon that of Catalonia;* and later still the territory down to Jativa and Alicante was added to his conquests.

But by this time Castile, on her side, had reached down to the frontiers at Murcia, and there was no room for the farther expansion of Aragon in that direction. There was, however, a large field for Jaime's vast ambition on the north, and thither he turned his steps. Jaime had wedded Eleanor of Castile, and by her had a son, Alfonso, but divorced her on the ground of consanguinity (see page 152, n.). He had then married Yolande, daughter of Andrew, King of Hungary, by whom he had other children; and although he could hardly help his first-born inheriting the inland realm of Aragon, the conqueror's dream was to extend the control of Catalonia over the principalities of the south of France in favour of his sons by Yolande. In the long-drawn-out intrigues to effect this he was naturally opposed by the Kings of France, who were gradually absorbing the country in the south, and Jaime avowedly championed the cause of the Romance nationality against the northerner. Divorces, remarriages, and tricks of

* As indicating the constitution of conquered kingdoms generally at this time, it may be mentioned that the realm of Valencia was divided *pro rata* among those who had contributed, either in purse or person, to the conquest. The greater nobles obtained "honours" —i. e., large estates with full feudal privileges; the 380 knights who undertook to garrison and guard the new territory received as many fiefs from the crown, and the bulk of the soil was distributed among other lower orders. It was soon found that the latter—the only taxpayers—were alienating their lands to the privileged orders (the nobles and the Church), and constant enactments were made to impede this, but with little success. Throughout Jaime's reign he made great efforts in all his dominions to prevent the alienation of lands both by one noble to another or by a citizen to a noble, but, notwithstanding all enactments, alienation continued to take place.

all sorts were resorted to; but events turned out badly for Jaime's schemes, and his vast plot failed. By the treaty of Corbeil (1258) Saint Louis gained the suzerainty of most of the south of France, and Jaime's hopes of a Romance empire were dashed to the ground, though he retained his mother's domain of Montpellier and some other territories.

But his ambition was boundless, and ever seeking for fresh outlets; and in addition to lifelong attempts by marriages, divorces, extorted wills, and even by brute force, to obtain the reversion of the kingdom of Navarre, he now dreamed of an alliance which should give to his house the kingdom of Sicily, and perhaps the empire of the East. Jaime's eldest son Alfonso, with whom he had always been at issue, died childless in 1260, and Pedro and Jaime, the king's sons by Yolande, were soon quarrelling with each other and with their father about their inheritance. Jaime, the younger, was the king's favourite, and to him was assigned the Balearics and the French dominions, while Pedro, the elder, was to inherit the Spanish realms and marry Constance, daughter of Manfred, King of Sicily, greatly to the indignation of both the Pope and the King of France, for Manfred was in open revolt against the papacy. But clever Jaime married his daughter Isabel to Philip, Dauphin of France, and so paralyzed one of the elements opposed to his plans.*

In a history of the Spanish people, however, what is even of more importance than the conquests and foreign policy of Jaime I is his attitude toward his nobles and his influence on the laws of Catalonia and Aragon. Circumstances, which

* It will be recalled that Manfred, the second son of the Emperor Frederick II, had, like his father and elder brother, Conrad of Swabia, been excommunicated, and the kingdom of Sicily granted by Pope Urban IV to Charles, Duke of Anjou. For centuries afterward this was a subject of dispute between the crown of Aragon—which under Pedro seized Sicily—the French kings, and the house of Lorraine as descendants of the Dukes of Anjou. The mother of Jaime was the daughter of the Lord of Montpellier by Eudoxa, daughter of Emmanuel Comnenus, Emperor of Constantinople.

have already been explained, gave to the nobles in that part of Spain an amount of power and privilege unknown elsewhere. The possession of land implied no other obligation than military service, and that to an extent strictly limited by law, the ordinary taxation falling entirely on the towns and unprivileged orders.

From the first Jaime's masterly spirit rebelled against the overweening power of the nobles, especially in Aragon, his constant policy being to reduce it by siding with the cities; and civil war between the king and sections of nobles accordingly continued during the whole of the reign. In 1226 a strong federation of the towns of Catalonia and Aragon was formed in imitation of the Hermandad of Castile, but with the object of defending the interests of the middle and trading classes against both king and higher nobles; and in the last years of Jaime's life (1274) practically the whole of the greater feudal barons were in arms against him.* But he had lost no opportunity in the meanwhile of propitiating the rapidly growing commercial classes; and when the Cortes were summoned to Lerida to arbitrate between Jaime and the greater nobles, it was evident that the former had the representatives in his favour, and the nobles refused to abide by their decision. Jaime's youngest son, Fernando, was on the side of the nobles, but he was overcome by his brother Pedro and

* It should be explained that the higher nobility consisted of *ricos homes de natura*, or hereditary owners of inalienable semi-independent fiefs, few in number, but petty sovereigns in all but name. It was the swollen privileges of this class, and not those of the smaller nobles and knights, which were a constant menace and danger to the king, and to some extent also to the people. One of the extraordinary privileges of the higher Aragonese nobles was that of being allowed to renounce allegiance to the crown when it suited them, and to make war against the king or each other, although the sovereign had the right of summoning them to accept arbitration on their grievances, in which case it was their duty to suspend hostilities. When thus summoned, the nobles usually found some fault with the terms of the reference or the constitution of the tribunal, and continued in their own course, as in the case mentioned above.

drowned; while the higher nobles received a hard lesson from the king; sure now, as he was, of the support of the majority of his subjects. The greater nobles for the first time in Catalonia and Aragon were brought to their knees, and Jaime and his son Pedro triumphed all along the line.

Thenceforward feudalism existed in Aragon, as elsewhere, but it was powerless to act against the king alone, as it had formerly done, and was forced to make common cause with the cities in the Cortes. Thanks to this and the general tendency of Jaime's legislation, the institution of serfdom gradually died out, and parliamentary institutions attained great vigour. Jaime found in force in Catalonia the old Fuero Juzgo or Gothic legal code, modified by the local " Usages," which had been adopted by previous rulers, and the king's efforts were directed mainly to adapt this to the newer circumstances of the time. But in Aragon the case was different. There no fresh additions had been made to the Fuero Juzgo, except by a traditional charter of Sobrarbe, which was supposed to have been granted by the first King of Navarre.

In Aragon, accordingly, Jaime promulgated a new code at Huesca in 1247, which laid down a complete system of procedure, the Gothic Fuero Juzgo being still more than at first permeated by the spirit of the Justinian Code; and a similar though in some cases different charter was granted for Valencia after the conquest. In these codes and charters one clear tendency is apparent, as indeed was inevitable in laws founded on Latin models, namely, the extension of popular rights and liberties and the limitation of the privileges attached to the hereditary ownership of land. This, it may be considered, was Jaime the Conqueror's principal contribution to the making of the Spanish people. How the foreign policy first inaugurated by him was largely instrumental in unmaking the nation must be explained in a future chapter.

In the sister realm, thanks to his mother's wisdom, Fernando III found himself, in 1230, undisputed sovereign of his

paternal realm of Leon and his maternal inheritance of Castile, at peace with Aragon, and able to return to the Moorish conquests which his accession to Leon had interrupted. The Almohades, broken by the great battle of Navas de Tolosa (1212), could offer now no united front to the Christian advance. A powerful Moslem Spaniard, Mahomet ben Hud, descended from the kings of Zaragoza, had seized upon the sovereignty of the greater part of southern Spain, and heroically endeavoured to reconsolidate the kingdom of Cordova. But he lived too late. Fernando III swept down from his point of vantage in the Sierra Morena. Ubeda and Baeza were occupied, and in 1236 the imperial city of Cordova, the seat of the caliphs, fell, and the banner of the Cross waved over the minarets of the peerless mosque raised by the piety of Abd-er-Rahman. The fairy palace of Az Zahra had long ago disappeared in the fanaticism and anarchy which followed the death of Almansor; the learning and science of which Cordova had been the world centre had mostly gone elsewhere; but the city had done enough for fame. Roman patrician colony, city of palaces, capital of a great dynasty, sacred home of a fervent faith, magic laboratory where the culture of the ancient world had been transmitted into the civilization of the new—these, and much more, had been beautiful Cordova. Henceforward a ruin beautiful still in decay, she stands silent in the ranks of vanished but unforgotten glories by the side of Athens, Rome, Carthage, and Constantinople.

But the progress of the Cross stayed not even here. Granada, a vassal of the Christian king, aided in the reduction of Seville. By land and sea Fernando beleaguered the city of the Wady al Kebir—Guadalquivir in future for all time—and on November 23, 1248, the King of Castile entered the city in triumph; and all Spain was nominally under Christian rule but the little tributary kingdom of Granada, when Fernando III died in his capital of Seville, four years after the conquest of the city.

Fernando had pursued unceasingly his wise mother's plan of consolidating the realms of Castile and Leon. The Fuero Juzgo was still the law of the land, but successive kings had granted to innumerable towns and individuals charters, immunities, and privileges which agreed neither with the general law nor with each other. The settlers in border districts and newly conquered territories had in many cases been granted powers of forming "communities," as they were called, which were in many respects little republics, with the right of raising and spending revenues, of forming municipalities, and possessing freedom of jurisdiction greater even than that enjoyed by the most favoured of the towns which had received charters from the greater nobles.

In this state of confusion the first step toward a unified legislation was to ascertain how the existing law stood; and this Fernando did by appointing a committee of jurisconsults to translate and simplify the Fuero Juzgo, and then to draft a more modern code on its foundation. The saintly king died before his task was complete; and to his more famous son, Alfonso X the Learned, belongs the glory of having carried out his father's idea in the Siete Partidas, one of the most complete and important legal codes ever promulgated.

It is now time to glance at the intellectual and social progress of the Spanish nation, which in some respects may be said to have come into existence during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. We have seen that in the early days of the Arab domination, when the culture of the ruling race and of the Jews who accompanied them was greater than that of the Christian populations, Arabic was the fashionable tongue even among the Spanish Mozarabes of the more cultivated class, while those of the lower class who embraced the religion of Islam naturally adhered to the language of their new faith. But with the advance of the Christian conquest and the continued efforts of bigots on both sides to separate the people of the two creeds, a reaction set in; and while

the mass of the Mozarabes must have understood something of Arabic speech and adopted a number of Moorish words, their ordinary speech was the bastard Latin that had been handed down to them by their forefathers.

Considering that for some centuries the Mozarabic populations of the south were surrounded by influences quite diverse from those which environed the Christians in the newly formed northern kingdoms, it will not be surprising that the Latin dialect spoken by the Mozarabes and by many of the Mudejares, who after the conquest of Toledo chose to remain under Christian sway, was very different from that which formed the common speech of the Asturians and Galicians. During the whole period of the reconquest the battle of the tongues continued. There was first and foremost the ancient Basque, spoken by the mountaineers of Navarre and Biscay, which, however, remained cooped up in its own home and never descended to the plains, for it was an exotic speech apart, with no affinity to the modern tongues. Then there were the Bable, or Latin dialect, spoken in Asturias, and that of Galicia and Portugal, a soft speech, with greater resemblance to the later Latin than any other, but simplified in construction by contact with the races whose original tongue had been of Teutonic formation. This was the prevailing speech of the Christian Spaniards during the first four or five centuries of the reconquest, but it had in the later years to fight hard against a kindred rival, and the struggle at last ended in a drawn battle.

The constant intercourse already mentioned between southern France and Catalonia, and the dominion held over both lands for centuries by the same monarchs, introduced first through Barcelona, and subsequently to Aragon, that variety of Romance called the *langue d'oc*, the tongue of the troubadours, which came to be divided in Spain into two forms, the poetical and literary Lemousí and the colloquial Catalá, which was, and is, the usual speech of the people.

What, however, gave to this language its great impetus was the flocking into Jaime the Conqueror's court at Barcelona of those troubadours and the humbler juglars who sang their verses, who had been driven out of Provence by the ruthless harrying of De Montfort's crusaders. Minstrels before had come thence to the courts of the Spanish kings and had met with welcome; now they flocked by hundreds, with their Lemousí speech and tricks of verse; and from town to town, from castle to castle, they spread through the land, petted, pampered, imitated, and made much of by a people who for hundreds of years had been too busy fighting the infidel to create a literature of their own.

The best of the bards, poets who recited their own heroic or amorous verse, were received with open arms in the courts of kings and great nobles; a seat at the table was ever vacant for them, and an open-eared audience ever ready to applaud their lays. The juglar, too, perhaps with special gift of voice or manner, was a welcome guest at every board. And so through the whole descending scale to the mimes, the musicians, and buffoons, all speaking in Lemousí, they carried to the people throughout north and central Spain novel models of construction, old folk-tales put into new lilting verse, and fresh ideas of the use to which words could be put; a revelation to most, but to many a revival of a tradition, or a memory of the Moorish minstrels and story-tellers, of the Jewish and Arab poets, whom long ago they or their forefathers had heard and imitated.

A people with keen literary instincts and florid speech like the Spaniards, long deprived as they had been of the exercise of letters, caught the fever of literary production, as their ancestors had done in Roman times, and the fashion of verse-spinning in the eleventh and twelfth centuries degenerated into a craze. Soon the common speech of northwestern Spain—Galician—akin as it was to the fashionable Provençal, assumed sufficient flexibility to be used for verse;

and the Cantigas of Santa Maria of Alfonso X, and some of the ballads in the Cancionero of Baena, remain to show that long after Castilian speech was common and Spanish literature existed the Galician tongue was still by preference used for higher verse.

With the forward movement, the conquest of Toledo by Alfonso VI, and the rigour of the first Almoravides, a great migration of Mozarabes came northward to settle in Castile; and the establishment of the court at Toledo, where the Mozarabic dialect of course was spoken, introduced this more virile form of speech into the king's court, and already in the middle of the twelfth century a full-fledged epic in this tongue existed in the Poem of the Cid, though it is highly improbable that even that was the first piece of Castilian verse produced. But with the accession of the learned Alfonso X of Castile and Leon (1252) the Castilian language assumed the commanding position it was in future to occupy, and Castilian literature in its broader sense may be said to commence.*

Up to this time, as in the Poem of the Cid, the model had invariably been French Provençal lyrics; but with Alfonso the Learned Castilian literature, both in prose and verse, adopts methods of its own. Berceo, the great ecclesiastical Castilian poet (1200–1265?) whose metre and matter Dante followed, wrote copiously and floridly of martyrdoms and miracles; and though he sought his subjects from French sources (especially Gautier de Coinci) his style is full of Span-

* When Saint Fernando conquered Cordova, 1236, he gave to the inhabitants a translation of the Fuero Juzgo into Castilian as their code of laws. The Rhymed Chronicle of the Cid is in Castilian of the same period, and also other poems: the Libre dels tres Reyes Dorient, the Vida de Santa Maria Egipciaqua, and the first Castilian lyric, Razon feita Amor. It was subsequent to these works, and a hundred years after the poem of the Cid was written in Castilian in imitation of the French *chansons de geste*, that Alfonso X employed Galician as a vehicle for his higher verse in the hymns to the Virgin.

ish spirit, exhibited by him for the first time in what is now the language of Spain, and he formed a school of verse, which existed after him for two hundred years.

It is a truism to say that poetry precedes prose in the literature of a nation, and that the first form of prose is usually history or chronicle. We have seen that chronicle had been almost the only profane writing in the low Latin of the first Christian reconquerors; we now find history the earliest existing form of Castilian prose, if we except the translation of the Fuero Juzgo given by Fernando III to the Cordovese. The History of the Goths, it is true, had originally been written in Latin by Rodrigo Jimenez de la Rada, Archbishop of Toledo; but at the instance of Saint Fernando a Castilian translation was made, probably by the archbishop himself. It was, however, at the instance of Fernando's son, Alfonso the Learned, that the first great prose works in Castilian literature were undertaken.

It has become a fashion of later years to decry Alfonso's achievements in letters, because he was a failure as a politician, as we shall see when we review the events of his reign; but, considering the circumstances of his time, it is difficult to overrate either his own prodigious mental activity or his undying services to Castilian literature. The language of the nation was as yet not definitely fixed; the sciences and ancient learning which the Jews and Arabs of Cordova and Toledo had kept alive in the ages of darkness had influenced foreign countries, England and Italy especially, far more than they had Christian Spain; for here religious bitterness and the racial hatred of centuries of struggle stood in the way. But to the wise Alfonso learning had no religion and no race, and he braved the bigots by enlisting in his army of writers and translators men from all quarters, both of Spain and the East,* to aid him in his task. No science had slumbered so

* In his Versos de Arte Mayor, Alfonso mentions that he learned the secret of the philosopher's stone, "by means of which I oft in-

profoundly in Europe since the days of ancient Greece as astronomy. To the Moslems the study of the stars forcibly appealed, and Cordova, in rivalry with Bagdad, took up this relic of learning, as it seized upon all other branches of the forgotten knowledge of Greece. Early in the eleventh century a Spanish Moslem of Cordova named Al Hazen went far beyond his fellows at Bagdad or elsewhere in his astronomical and optical discoveries and writings. He was followed by the more famous Averroës, one of the great philosophers of all times (1116–1198), the translator and reviver of Aristotelian * learning, which he popularized in modern Europe, and the first translator into Latin of the Almegist of

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creased my store," from an Egyptian philosopher whom he had brought from Alexandria. Alfonso gives his secrets to the world in verse, but to our eyes they do not seem to amount to much.

* It is impossible in the space at our disposal to speak adequately of the immense influence exercised by Averroës's works on European thought. Translations of his works into Latin were eagerly made by English, French, and Italian scholars; and Oxford, Padua, and Paris counted hundreds of disciples of the great Arab. But, although his ideas on natural, revealed, religion powerfully led to the adoption of broader theological views by so many scholars, and ultimately influenced the simplification and purification of the Christian faith, the philosophy he inculcated was simply that of the school of Aristotle. Averroës was not even acquainted with Greek, but translated into Arabic from a Hebrew text. His great glory it is to have practically introduced Aristotle to the Western world. Mention must also be made of the great opponent of Averroës's philosophy, the famous Majorcan Christian doctor, Ramon Lull (1235–1315), an author of prodigious fertility, who spent a long life and stupendous gifts in preaching and teaching throughout Europe the truth of Christianity as demonstrated by reason and logic. His influence upon the mediæval Christian universities was greater than that of his famous Arab predecessor, inasmuch as to him was due the study of the Oriental languages in Oxford, Paris, and Bologna; and the Lullian school of rational Christianity existed, especially in Catalonia and north Italy, for centuries. Lull was alternately attacked and exalted by the Church and the Inquisition, his works being placed upon the Index Expurgatorius and removed therefrom many times; and the controversy can not yet be said to be finished, although Lull has been "beatified" by the Church.

Ptolemy. But the Christian prelates and ignorant soldiers of early Spain had looked upon the heavenly phenomena as beyond human study, and had frowned down all attempts at investigation, except to read portents, favourable or otherwise, to the Christian cause from the wonders of the skies; and it must have needed sturdy courage in Alfonso, long before he was king, to compile in his father's palace at Toledo his Alfonsine Tables, a complete recalculation and correction of the tables of Ptolemy and the colossal Libros de Saber de Astronomia, in Castilian. Alfonso's literary activity was universal. Guidebooks to games of draughts, chess, dice, and tables; treatises on music, philosophy, alchemy, and law; a translation of the Bible from the Hebrew; poems in Castilian and Galician; a great universal history, written by a combination of scholars under the king's own editorship;* and, above all, the world-famed code of law called the Siete Partidas—these are only some of the results still existing of Alfonso's learning and enterprise. The Siete Partidas superseded the old Fuero Juzgo of the Goths, and was not only a legal code, but a guide to the conduct of every rank of citizen, from the king to the serf, in all relations and acts of life. It not only dictates laws, but gives reasons for them, and contains in every line information which enables us to estimate the stage of social progress which had been reached by the Spanish nation at this period (1252–1284). It is no exaggeration to say that Alfonso X of Castile found the Spanish language a doubtful dialect, and left it a majestic, rich, and noble national tongue, with a vigorous literature of its own.

We have already remarked that the main exciting influ-

* Of this history only three books were finished. It was commenced about 1260, and I have recently discovered a hitherto unknown copy, illuminated on vellum, in perfect condition, in the Duke of Wellington's library. This copy is dated 1378, and is the earliest of which I have any knowledge.

ence upon the literary awakening of Spain in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was French Provençal, more especially in poetry and *belles lettres*; but it would be unjust and misleading to suggest that the example of Cordova and the learning of the Spanish Jews and Arabs had not to some extent penetrated Christian Spain before Alfonso X boldly translated some of their teachings into Castilian. Ramon, Archbishop of Toledo (1130), had turned into Latin some Arabic treatises; here and there in the border ballads of Spain Arab forms of verse were followed; the great Spanish Jew poet, Judah ben Samuel the Levite, in the beginning of the twelfth century introduced an occasional line of what we now call Castilian into his Hebrew verses; and the Mozarabes, and Spanish-speaking Mudejares who remained among the Christians, must have brought with them some memories of the Arab culture in the midst of which they were reared, as it is certain they brought with them their handicrafts and artistic models.

There was another class which carried to Spain, as indeed it carried to the rest of the world, echoes of the learning of Cordova and Toledo before the era of Alfonso X, namely, the Jewish physicians, who practised in almost every court in Europe. The literary revival in Spain, therefore, and the victory of the Castilian language, which was inaugurated by Fernando III and continued by his son, Alfonso the Learned, may be said to have received its inspiration as to form from the Provençal, and in its substance largely from the Jews and Arabs, who had translated into Latin, Hebrew, or Arabic the learning of the ancient Greek.

The Moorish influence on art and handicrafts in the formation of a new national Spanish style of decoration was infinitely greater than in literature. It is true that in Christian architecture the inspiration still came from France, and already the so-called Gothic forms were being grafted upon the simpler style, which the Spaniards had evolved out of the

Angevin-Romanesque; * the influence of the Arab being only seen—and that mainly in domestic buildings—where the Mudejares, or tolerated Moors, were largely in excess of the Christians in numbers. The rigid religious tenets enforced at first by the Almoravides, and afterward by the Almohades, had tended to eliminate from Arab-Spanish art the corruptions which contact with Christian styles had introduced: and the more graceful ornamentation which we now know as Alhambresque had taken the place of the stiff Cufic and semi-Byzantine forms of the earlier Arabs.

The damascened and chased arms and metal work made by the Mudejares of Almeria, Murcia, and Seville were in great request all over Spain; and the domestic furniture used in most of the better-class Christian houses, being largely made by Mozarabic and Mudejar workmen, in the thirteenth century showed everywhere traces of Arabic design of the more graceful and flowing character developed under the Almohades,† while the great number of beautiful carved ivory caskets of the same period and style still existing in Spanish cathedrals prove that even for the preservation of sacred Christian relics there was no objection to the use of these works of art, permeated though they were with the spirit of Islam. The manufacture also of the lustred pottery at Malaga, Manises, and elsewhere continued after the Christian conquest as before, and not only was the ware prized throughout the world,‡ but it must have been used all over Spain;

* See especially the great west portico of Santiago cathedral (twelfth century), of which a fine reproduction exists in the South Kensington Museum.

† A good specimen will be found in the South Kensington Museum, called the Botica de los Templarios, No. 1764.

‡ Speaking of this ware, a description of the industries of Valencia in the fifteenth century, quoted by Señor Riaño, says: "Above all is the beauty of the gold pottery so splendidly painted at Manises, which enamours every one so much that the Pope and the cardinals and the princes of the world obtain it only by favour, and are surprised that such excellence and noble works can be made of earth."

and, as is evident, the Arab ornamentation largely influenced the designs used on the Spanish Christian pottery made at Talavera and elsewhere; while the glazed Mosaic tiles so largely used in building, the great wine jars of Catalonia, the porous alcarazas of Andujar, and the well brims continued for centuries afterward to exhibit the forms and colours which were introduced to Christian Spain by the Mudejar and Mozarabic workmen.

A most significant social effect was also produced upon the Spanish people by the comparatively easy contemporaneous conquests of Andalusia by Fernando the Saint, and of Valencia by Jaime the Conqueror of Aragon. Cordova, Seville, Murcia, and Valencia were by far the richest and most luxurious of Spanish cities; by the middle of the thirteenth century both Castile and Aragon knew that the Moslem, who had thitherto been to them a standing menace, could trouble them greatly never again. The wealth of the captured cities, the lessons of luxury taught to the Christians by the hosts of Mudejares and Mozarabes, and encouraged by the commercial Jews who lived among them, the new sense of national security—all tended to relax the stern simplicity which had characterized the Christian Spaniards during the first centuries of the struggle.

Nor was this all. The crowding of thousands of foreign knights into Spain to fight for the Cross, and the fashionable craze for poetry and entertainments promoted by the troubadours and their followers, added to the growing self-indulgence of the Christian conquerors. It would appear that Jaime the Conqueror of Aragon first took fright at this tendency of his subjects. He issued a decree in 1234 setting forth the lamentable increase in extravagance both in food and dress, and ordering that in future no subject of his should sit down to a meal of more than one dish of stewed and one of roast meat, unless it were dried and salted. As much game might be served as the diner pleased, on condition that it had

been hunted and killed by the eater. It was strictly forbidden that juglars or minstrels should sit at table with ladies and gentlemen, while the most rigid rules were laid down against the abuse of gold, silver, and tinsel trimmings on dresses of men and women; and the employment of ermine and fine furs was rigidly restricted.

In the south, after the conquest of Seville and Cordova, matters were worse still, and only four years after his accession Alfonso X, with the concurrence of his Cortes, issued in Seville a complete sumptuary edict forbidding the use of gold or silver tinsel in the adornment of saddles or shields, except as a narrow border. No jingling bells might be used as trimmings except on saddle cloths at the cane tourneys, and no embroidered devices were allowed on housings. No fine milled cloth might be worn by common people, nor were the garments to be pinked into fantastic shapes or trimmed with ribbon or silk cords, the penalty for infraction being the loss of one or both thumbs. Women, even, were forbidden to wear any bright colours, to adorn their girdles with pearls, or to border their kirtles or wimples with gold or silver thread. How seriously the vice of gluttony had spread is seen by Alfonso's undertaking to obey his own edict in this respect, limiting the number of dishes of meat on a table to two, and one of bought game. The extravagant expenditure on wedding feasts is also condemned in this decree. No presents of garments might be given, and the whole cost of the wedding outfit was not to exceed 60 maravedis, and not more than 20 guests might be invited. Moors, it appears, were already, dressing like Christians, and this was strictly forbidden. They were to wear no red or green cloth, no white or gold shoes; their hair was to be parted plainly in the middle, with no curl on the top; and they were ordered to grow a full beard. Although the penalties for violation of these regulations were savage in the extreme, they can hardly have been effectual, for a fresh set of rules was issued two

years later, in which the king agreed to limit his table expenditure to 150 maravedis a day,* and ordered the *ricos homes* (higher nobles) to eat more sparingly and spend less money. All the members of the royal household were directed to dress more modestly; no white fur, scarlet breeches, gilt shoes, or cloth-of-gold hats were allowed; and priests, who it appears had been decreasing the size of their tonsures and ruffling in fine colours, were sternly ordered to shave the whole of their crowns and wear a rope around their sad-coloured garments.† No man, however rich, was to buy more than four suits of clothes a year, two fur mantles, and one rain-cape. No ermine, silk, gold, or silver tissue, no slashes, trimmings, or pinked cloth might be worn; no crystal or silver buttons were allowed, and lawn and silk for outer garments were to be reserved for royalty. The punishments prescribed for Jews and Moors were brutal in the extreme, torture or death being compulsory for the slightest violation of the law; but the punishment of the *ricos homes* was to be left to the king's discretion.

Another great social change came over the Spanish people in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a result of the prosperity of the country and the subjection of the Moors. The games in the splendid Roman arenas and circuses had, like all other material signs of Latin civilization, disappeared

* It should be understood that, though the sovereign suggested subjects for legislation to the Cortes, and sometimes caused bills to be drafted and laid before them, the act usually originated with the Cortes, and always took the form of a presentment or petition to the king; who, if he approved of it, signed and promulgated it as an edict. The proposal, therefore, that Alfonso should set a good example with regard to his living originated not with the king himself but with the Cortes.

† The manners of the clergy both in Castile and Aragon had become shamefully corrupt. The councils and synods of prelates in both countries were constantly issuing canons denouncing profligacy. In 1274 a council in Aragon found it necessary to forbid the clergy from wearing on their garments any embroidery, gold or silver buttons, or buckles either at their necks or wrists. No embroidered or pointed shoes, striped robes, or long hoods were to be allowed.

before the invading tides of Islam. The Moors brought with them their own public amusements. The story-teller and the minstrel, the mimic warfare of the tourneys, feats of horsemanship, and the baiting of bulls and boars delighted the pleasure-loving population of the south; but for the first two centuries of the reconquest the Christians of the north were too seriously employed, too devout and uncultured, to care for luxurious public shows; and the tilting and trials of strength in which they indulged were more in the nature of preparation for war than the diversions of peace.

The first form of public amusement apart from these exhibitions of arms was the *romeria*, or joint pilgrimages to special sanctuaries on days of the patron saint. These degenerated into pleasure fairs, where dancing and music solaced the pilgrims after their devotions were over. But with the capture of Toledo, the migration of large numbers of Mozarabes northward, and the crowding of foreigners, especially Provençals, into Spain rapidly changed these simple amusements. Oriental splendour began to be displayed in the tourneys and cane plays,* which last had been borrowed from the Arabs. The Castilian and Aragonese magnates began to rival each other in the extravagance of the martial shows with which they celebrated their wedding feasts and other rejoicings. Running at the ring, bullfights,† tournaments,

* The cane tournament (*juegos de cañas*) continued to be the great show diversion of the Spanish court until late in the seventeenth century. It consisted of bands of horsemen under the leadership of the higher nobles, each band bearing some special device or particular colour in clothes, streamers, standards, and housings. One band ran against another, casting harmless cane javelins when they came near, and then suddenly wheeled round and retreated in order. The grace and dexterity with which this was done, the perfection of the horsemanship, and the ingenuity or splendour of the devices decided the contest, which was run in heats, the band finally victorious receiving the prize. A similar diversion is common in Morocco at the present day, although the canes (*jerud*) are now dispensed with.

† The first recorded bullfight according to modern ideas was given at a marriage feast at Avila in 1107, and by the end of the thirteenth

and cane plays were seized upon as a pretext for pomp and magnificence. The troubadours, the juglars, the minstrels, the mimes, who hung about every castle and great house, were expected to produce endless new devices and gallant inventions, which should bring honour to their masters. The old Iberian spirit cropped up again in their amusements, as in their literature. Showy, pompous, and redundant, the Spaniards of the thirteenth century, like those of the third, seized upon all that was glib, glittering, and fantastic both in the diversions of the Moors and the inventions of the Provençals; and every town in Spain now vied with its fellows in the frequency and brilliancy of its public amusements.

To this period also may be attributed the birth of the Spanish stage, long afterward to become the principal form of intellectual expression of the nation. Sacred mysteries had for some time been represented in the churches; but the wandering troubadours and juglars had evidently by this time begun to introduce profane and objectionable features into these representations, and one of the laws of the Siete Partidas sternly forbids this.* It is noticeable that in denouncing

century the sport was common. One of the laws of the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X forbids prelates to attend bullfights.

* It will be interesting to reproduce at length this article of the law as a specimen of the earliest Castilian prose. It will be seen that very little alteration has taken place in the language since it was born. Speaking of the clergy, it says: " Nin deben ser facedores de juegos de escarnios, porque los vengan a ver gentes como se facen: e si otros homes los ficiesen, non deben los Clerigos y venir, porque facen muchas villanias é desaposturas, *nin deben otros estas cosas facer en las Iglesias: antes decimos que los deben echar de ellas deshonradamente,* ca la Iglesia es de Dios. . . . Pero representacion hay que pueden los Clerigos facer; asi como de la nascencia de nuestro Senor Jesu Cristo, en que muestra como el angel vino a los pastores, e como los dijo como era nascido Jesu Cristo. E otrosí de su aparicion, como los Reyes Magos le vinieron a adorar, é de su resureccion, que muestra que fue crucificado, é resucitó al tercero dia: tales cosas como estas, que mueven al home a facer bien, e haber devocion en la fé. pueden las facer, e ademas porque los homes hayan remembranza que segun aquellas fueron las otras hechas de verdad: mas esto deben

these early actors, the law takes care to distinguish them from "those who play on instruments and sing to solace kings and other great gentlemen"; and although the vagabonds found their burlesque representations of Judas or the devil and their indecent dances banished from the Church, we know that they carried their talents elsewhere; and within a century and a half after the publication of the Siete Partidas the embryo Spanish drama had become a favourite diversion not only of the vulgar who gaped at buffoons, but of the fine gentlemen and ladies of the courts, who listened to the witty conceits in the rhymed eclogues and dramatic narratives of Juan de Encina and his followers.

We have seen that in nearly all respects an important revolution had taken place in the life of the Spanish people during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They had in the latter century absorbed much of the Moorish refinement and the luxury of the south and east, and a share of the newer culture of the Romance peoples through Catalonia

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facer apuestamente e con muy gran devocion en las cibdades grandes donde hobiere Arzobispos e Obispos, e con su mando de ellos, . . . e non los deben facer en las aldeas nin en los lugares viles, nin por ganar dinero con ellas." ("Nor should they be performers in scornful plays for people to go and see as they do; and if other men should perform such, clergymen ought not to attend them, because they —i. e., the performers—do many knavish and scandalous acts. Nor should any persons whatever do such things in the churches; on the contrary, we declare that they should be cast out with reprobation, for the Church belongs to God. . . . There are representations, however, in which clergymen may act; such as those of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, showing how the angel came to the shepherds and told them that Christ was born. And also how he appeared, how the kings came to worship him, his resurrection, showing the crucifixion and resurrection on the third day. Such things as these move men to do well and be devout in the faith, and may be done in order to remind men that they really happened. But they must be performed with great decency and devotion in the large cities, where there are archbishops and bishops who may order them. . . . and they must not be represented in villages nor poor places, or for the purpose of gain.")

and Aragon. The middle classes had grown greatly in wealth and independence both in the east, with the busy looms of Barcelona and Valencia and their prosperous commerce throughout the Mediterranean, and in Castile, where the industries of the Mudejares and Mozarabes and the greater demand for the fine wools of the vast wandering flocks enabled the chartered towns to maintain armed forces of their own, and to combine irresistibly for the protection of their interests.

With this increased wealth, security, and general well-being there came—as it had come in succession to other peoples who had enjoyed it—an easy, tolerant scepticism, which, if continued, would have meant decay. But the Spaniards were a newborn people, and their time for decay was not yet. The clergy as a class were now disorganized, corrupt, and immoral, but they were as bigoted and cruel, as avid of power and wealth, as ever they had been, and some of the more earnest of them were determined to withstand the laxity which is born of self-indulgence, and to bring unity to the peoples and power to their own order by forcing all Spaniards to conform to the rigid doctrines of the Church. The idea was not a purely Spanish one, for so long as the Iberian was allowed perfect individual freedom he was not intolerant of the acts of others. Successive generations of bigoted churchmen, together with centuries of fighting, had caused a racial loathing of the Moslems and Jews to exist, which extended in time to their creeds; but although there had been religious disabilities, and sometimes cruel persecution, on both sides, yet, speaking generally, the Christian and the Moslem had for some centuries found a *modus vivendi* which allowed each to live in peace after his own fashion, unless he went out of his way to invite opposition.

The extension of the civil power of the papacy, and more especially the masterful ambition of Innocent III, had led to the crusade ordered from Rome against the *heretics* of

the south of France, to which reference has been made. An inquisition had been ordered by Innocent, with tremendous powers direct from Rome, to bring back all heretics to the faith on pain of confiscation of property, spiritual excommunication, and bodily punishment. There was in Provence at the time (1206) a fanatical young Spanish monk, whose burning zeal rebelled against the corruption of his fellow-churchmen, and he conceived the idea of forming an order of preachers who, poor and chaste, should renounce the ease of the cloister and preach the living faith in the highways and byways to all men. The bishops and cloistered clergy frowned at such an innovation, but who could stand against the zeal of Dominic? Not canons or councils; not even popes; and the stern, uncompromising future saint had his way.

With words of fire, so long as words would serve, with devastating armies when blood was demanded, flinching at no cruelty, showing no mercy, Dominic carried the word of God through Languedoc; and when Pedro of Aragon fell fighting for his heretic brother-in-law of Provence against sacerdotalism at Muret (1213), his fellow-Spaniard, Dominic the monk, bore the great crucifix before the host of De Montfort, and eagerly shared in the massacre of those who resisted a ready-made doctrine. The task of Dominic's order thenceforward was to bear from its great superior in Rome, and from the popes whom he ruled, the right of examination and persecution of those whose orthodoxy was doubted; and the papacy fixed yet more firmly than ever its grasp upon the bodies of Christian men.

Although the realm of Aragon, as we have seen, had from the earliest times been more subservient to the Pope than Castile, its king, Pedro, had fallen fighting against his patron; but Jaime the Conqueror had been seated on the throne by the Church, and throughout his reign, at the bidding of Rome, the persecution of heretics continued. Translations of

the Bible in the vernacular were prohibited, all public office was closed to those suspected of heterodoxy and obstinate heretics were burned. It is true that Jaime was tender to the Jews, who nearly monopolized the commerce of his dominions and paid him well, for they were by far the richest of his subjects. But they, too, were forced to see their sacred books mutilated and burned, and were compelled to listen in silence to the preaching of the Dominicans; and the Saracens of Valencia were treated more harshly still.* It was a small beginning, but, inflamed by the priests, the ignorant populace caught the fever of intolerance, and followed the Jews and Mudejares with curses and insults whenever they dared to show themselves outside of their quarters.

In Castile, Alfonso the Learned tempered the zeal of the Pope and the inquisitors as well as he might; but Jaime of Aragon was content to buy oblivion for his many offences against the faith by letting the churchmen work their way with the bodies of his subjects.† The evil seed of intolerance

* In 1247, on the pretext of an intended revolt of the Moslems of Valencia, Jaime issued a decree for the expulsion of the whole of them from the kingdom. This would have meant complete ruin, especially to the nobles and knights who held the land, and energetic remonstrance was offered to the king, not only from the Moors themselves, but from the nobles, knights, and municipalities. The Moors of Jativa offered the king 100,000 besants for permission to remain in their homes. When, however, Jaime remained obdurate, a general rising of Moslems took place, and in the mountainous districts the war dragged on for years. One hundred thousand Moors were expelled from the kingdom; but, notwithstanding the incitement and admonition of the Pope, it was found impossible to clear the whole territory of its principal inhabitants, and the cruel edict was allowed to fall into abeyance.

† In addition to Jaime's scandalous immorality, which more than once had been reproved by the Pope, the king caused the tongue of his confessor, the Bishop of Gerona, to be cut out, for which he had to make public penance. He had married his son to the daughter of the Pope's enemy, Manfred of Sicily, and his juggling with the marriage vows, both of himself and others, to suit his political ends needed the frequent good offices of the papacy. It was therefore necessary that he should please the Pope in some things.

was thus sown in Aragon; but as the power of the priests grew and rulers used religion for their ends, it spread throughout Spain, and produced plentiful harvests of misery and suffering for centuries to come.

The thirteenth century thus saw the entrance of the Spanish people into the circle of cultured European nations. The civilization they had evolved out of the turmoil of warring races and alternate dominations had received its breath of life from the traditions of old Rome; but the abundant Afro-Semitic blood in the race and the element of far Eastern culture—the tastes and arts of Syria and Persia introduced by the Arabs—had given to Spanish civilization features which distinguished it from that of any other Western nation. The fatalism and indifference to life which is a characteristic of the Afro-Semitic races had made the Spaniards bold fighters and cruel conquerors. When the need for fighting and conquering was nearly over and the people might have settled down under the softening effects of peace, there came from papal Rome the baleful breath of intolerance and blew into a flame, which later grew to a furnace, the spark, always lingering in the Iberian breast, of jealousy and hatred of the man in the next valley or the next town; of the man who dressed differently, who spoke differently, or worshipped a different god.

And so, simultaneously with the uprising of a new people enjoying advantages of climate, position, and soil such as had been vouchsafed to no other European nation, there entered into the heart of the race, unhappily only too ready to receive it, the virus which in time to come was to turn all its gold into dross, to doom its fertile fields to barrenness, to blight its industry, to mock the genius of its people, and in the end to condemn a great nation for centuries to impotence, poverty, and degradation.

## A. D. 1150 TO A. D. 1300

### *Summary of progress during this period*

Spain had now taken a foremost place in the cultured nations of Europe. The conquest of Valencia by Aragon, and the whole south of Spain but Granada by Castile, had made those two kingdoms great commercial powers, as inheritors of the industry and trade of the conquered Moors. The inclusion in the Christian dominions of so many Mozarabes, Mudejares, and Moriscos had profoundly influenced the artistic tastes, the architecture, the social life, and the prosperity of the whole of Spain. The Latin dialect of the Mozarabes had, under Alfonso X (the Learned), evolved a literature of its own, and had become the dominant speech of Spain. Simultaneously with the advance of Moslem civilization from the south, another type of civilization invaded Spain from the north in this period. The events related in the text and the increasing wealth of Spanish courts sent hosts of poets, reciters, and musicians flocking to Spain from Provence. Glib, theatrical, and verbose, and akin in blood to the Spaniards of northeastern Spain, their influence upon literature and manners was great and permanent.

Politically the Christian realms were now organized on the lines they ultimately followed. In the triple state of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia the national parliaments were established with the three estates growing out of feudal traditions, though Jaime the Conqueror had to some extent checked the feudal power of the nobles. In Castile the strong autonomous towns had asserted themselves, and had (1295) federated their strength to resist the growing turbulence and encroachment of the nobles; and both in Leon and Castile the representatives of the town councils of the principal cities now sat in the Cortes at the summons of the king (1169). In Aragon and Catalonia Jaime the Conqueror had compiled his famous code of laws from the *Lex Visigothorum* and the local "Usages," adapted to later times, and in Castile Alfonso the Learned had also adapted and translated into Castilian the Fuero Juzgo (Siete Partidas), a model which served the rest of Europe as an adaptation of the Roman law. With the settlement of language and the poetic example of the Troubadours, literature throve exceedingly under the patronage of the kings of Castile and Aragon. The learning of the

Greeks, which had filtered through Hebrew, Arabic, and Latin to the rest of Europe, had previously hardly touched Christian Spain in its passage. Alfonso X now had much of it turned into the Peninsular tongues by the Jews, Mozarabes, and Moriscos, to whom it was familiar. Spain was no longer isolated. The Christian ships from the east coast sailed throughout the Mediterranean; wool, fruit, wax, soap, and wine went in quantities to England, Flanders, and France; and the coming of the foreigners to fight in her crusade had familiarized Spanish Christians with foreign speech, thought, and progress. Spain at this period was, in fact, a group of newborn, thriving Christian realms with vast ambitions and infinite possibilities.

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*Summary of what Spain did for the world in this period*

With the exception of the growing exportation of her products—the silks of Valencia, the arms of Almeria and Toledo, the gold tissues, the pottery, and glass of Andalusia, and the fruits, leather, wine, wax, and wool which found their way now throughout the world—Spain's principal contributions to human advancement in this period were intellectual. The schools of philosophy founded respectively by Averroës and Ramon Lull, the latter especially, moved scholars throughout the world to controversy; the universities, from Oxford to Padua, sought new inspiration and knowledge from Spanish sources, and Spanish-Jewish physicians and men of science were in every European court. The service rendered to religious enlightenment by the lifelong efforts of Ramon Lull to reconcile revealed religion with reason and knowledge was, however, counterbalanced by the spread in Europe of the fierce persecuting spirit, which was so largely owing to Saint Dominic, another Spaniard.

# CHAPTER VI

## POLITICAL PROGRESS OF CATHOLIC SPAIN

Reign of Alfonso the Learned—The Cortes—Revolt of Sancho IV—Anarchy in Castile—Guzman "the Good"—Fernando IV and Maria de Molina—Aragon—The conquest of Sicily—The revolt of the Aragonese nobles—The Privilege of Union—Pedro the Ceremonious of Aragon—Abrogation of the "Union"—Castile under Alfonso XI—The growth of the Cortes—Pedro the Cruel of Castile—Revolt of the Castilian nobles—Civil war—Pedro's treatment of his English auxiliaries—Murder of Pedro and accession of Henry II of Trastamara.

ALFONSO THE LEARNED was unfortunately very far from wise. His enlightened efforts to bring book learning within reach of his people and his extraordinary editorial activity were accompanied by a complete ineptitude in the wider science of government and in a knowledge of mankind. Vaguely ambitious, but without sufficient fixity of purpose to carry through great schemes, he incurred vast expenses in preparations which, in most cases, produced nothing but disappointment.

Like his greater father-in-law, Jaime of Aragon, he, too, dreamed of far-reaching foreign policies. He conceived his house to have some shadowy claim upon Gascony, which, as we have seen, was being held by Simon de Montfort for Henry III of England; and the King of Castile, siding with some of the unorthodox nobles, marched to assert his supposed right by besieging Bayonne. But the splendid young heir to the English crown, Edward Plantagenet, was marriage-

able, and Alfonso was easily induced to transfer his own claims to Gascony, such as they were, to his sister Eleanor on the condition of her marriage with Edward.

Of the stately coming of the English prince with his nobles to wed the Princess of Castile at Burgos (1254) the chronicles of the times are full. How Edward towered head and shoulders over all others, how he kept his vigil before the altar of the monastery of Las Huelgas, near Burgos, previous to his receiving the honour of knighthood from the king, and how splendid were the garments and gifts of the guests, there is no space here to tell. Suffice it to say that, though the magnificence dazzled the court scribes who wrote the history of these events, the people, whose main participation in them was the payment of increased burdens, took a different view; and the arbitrary debasement of the coinage and the unwise attempt to conjure away scarcity by fixing the price of commodities, in which Alfonso was followed by so many of his successors, only deepened popular discontent.

The subjects looked with contempt upon a sovereign who only adopted policies to abandon them, and spent most of his time in poring over mysterious books and consorting with unorthodox persons full of uncanny lore. The churchmen, too, shook their heads sagely at the hints that black magic and witchery were behind it all; and the nobles, with the king's brother Philip at their head and the Laras supporting him, thought that privileges which should bring to their order in Castile the same power as that wielded by the nobles of Aragon might be wrung from the student king.*

The great project of Alfonso's life was to be elected emperor in right of his mother, who had been a daughter of Conrad of Swabia, eldest son of the great Emperor Fred-

* The most highly prized of these was the strict limitation of the feudal aids they were forced to render to the sovereign, and the submission to an impartial judge of all questions between the king and the nobles.

erick; and at the Diet of Frankfort, in 1257, after the death of Conrad, Alfonso X and Richard, Earl of Cornwall, were rivals for the imperial crown. Both sides claimed the victory, and both made preparations for an appeal to arms. Louis IX, jealous of the aggrandizement of an English prince, accorded all his support to Alfonso, while the successive pontiffs obstinately resisted his claims; for whatever might be the case with Aragon, Castile, and especially Alfonso, suffered the encroachment of papal authority in Spain with impatience. For years Alfonso spent treasure and time upon his hopeless candidature. Rome always stood in the way, and at length the choice of Rudolph of Hapsburg for emperor (1273) finally put an end to the hopes of the King of Castile.

When Alfonso was victorious over the Moors in the Algarves, he consented to surrender his conquest to the King of Portugal, on condition that he married Alfonso's natural daughter Beatrice; and the discontent thus caused was seized upon by the nobles to formulate their demands upon the king. To their surprise, instead of taking up arms against them, like Jaime of Aragon, Alfonso summoned a Cortes at Burgos to consider their complaints. The burgesses of the towns holding charters direct from the king were summoned, as was usual now, and if Alfonso had stood firm, it is certain that the powerful, rich, armed municipalities would have supported him; for at the Cortes of Almagro only the year before (1272) most of the commons' grievances had been met and remedied. But Alfonso was apparently only too willing to purchase peace at any price with the nobles, who at once gained all they asked; and then, fearing a trap, they fled to the territory of Granada until they satisfied themselves that the king meant no harm to them.

Alfonso's wars with the revolted Moors of the south were constant. At first he had the assistance of Al Hamar, the King of Granada, who was a tributary of Castile; but the revolt of the Moors of Murcia, over whom Granada had for-

merly been suzerain, was seconded by Al Hamar, and for several years after 1262 the forces of Castile were at war with those of Granada, while Jaime of Aragon re-conquered Murcia, and at the treaty of peace in 1266 loyally surrendered it to Alfonso. During the absence of Alfonso in France, in furtherance of his imperial claims, however, a fresh rising of the Moors of Andalusia took place; and Fernando, the eldest son of the king, who was regent in his absence, hurried south with an army to resist them, but unfortunately died at Ciudad Real on the way.

The old Gothic ideas of election of the person of the sovereign from the members of the royal house still lingered. By the Roman law, and by Alfonso's own Partidas (which, however, had not yet been generally promulgated, but granted only to certain towns), the eldest son of the dead prince, Fernando,* became heir to the crown, but the Visigothic rule favoured the adult second brother. Alfonso's second son, Sancho, lost no time, but hurried to Ciudad Real and obtained the adherence of several of the nobles there assembled. He then overcame the African allies of the revolted Moors, and on the strength of his victories pressed his father to confirm his so-called election to the heirship by the nobles at Ciudad Real.

Alfonso lacked courage either to consent or refuse of his own action, and summoned a council of nobles and churchmen to decide. The choice fell upon Sancho, who was acknowledged as heir at the Cortes of Segovia in 1276, and the two children of Fernando—Alfonso and Fernando—fled to Aragon with their mother, Blanche,† sister of King Philip

* He and his successors were always known by the name of Infantes de la Cerda, from certain bristles growing from a mole on his cheek. His descendants, the dukes of Medina-Celi, bear the name to this day.

† They were accompanied in their flight by Violante, the Queen of Alfonso X, a sister of Pedro III of Aragon, who espoused the cause of the legitimate heir, Alfonso de la Cerda, the eldest son of the dead

the Bold of France. The action of Sancho toward his nephews was a good indication of the character of the man. Sent anew against the rebellious Moors of Andalusia, he diverted much of the resources placed at his disposal to the winning of adherents to his own ambitious plans against his father.

When the principal nobles of Castile had been gained, Sancho threw aside the mask, called a Cortes at Valladolid, formally deposed his father, and himself assumed the royal style. In the meanwhile Alfonso X, cooped up in his only loyal city of Seville, denounced his undutiful son with the aid of the Pope, and implored the assistance of the African Moslems to replace him on the throne of Castile. With their aid Alfonso brought some of the rebel nobles to their senses, and Sancho sought a reconciliation. The weak king, who by solemn testament had established as his heirs the children of his eldest son, now received the submission of Sancho and his brothers, acknowledging the first as heir of Castile, his brother Juan to be King of Seville and Badajoz, and the youngest brother, Jaime, to be King of Murcia. Alfonso thus, when he died (April 5, 1284), left behind him abundant sources of contention between his descendants. Sancho began by brushing aside the claims of his brothers to be considered as tributary kings by virtue of Alfonso's will, and then found himself face to face with his nobles. It has already been explained that in Castile and Leon the feudal nobility never obtained the same power as they wielded elsewhere; but the movement that was progressing in the rest of Europe, to raise the power of the sovereigns by the help of the middle classes and the weakening of the nobles, had

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Fernando. Pedro of Aragon, however, subsequently came to terms with Sancho, on condition of the conquering of a portion of Navarre and the division of the spoil between them, and Alfonso X then entered into negotiations with the King of France for the disinheritance of Sancho and the recognition of Alfonso de la Cerda as heir.

reached Spain, and, as we have seen, the Castilian nobles had won the first trick in the game through the weakness of Alfonso X. They doubtless thought that the aid they had given to the rebellious Sancho would secure them still further concessions, and lost no time after his accession in formulating their demands. The jealousy of the leading nobles had to a great extent split up their confederacy, and a number of turbulent "leagues," inimical to each other and to the towns, sprang up, the result being a state of complete anarchy. Bands of marauders roamed through the country, assuming the name of one or another league, murdering and pillaging as they went. Outside the fortified walls of the towns no man's life was safe; and then it was that the municipalities, each one a little tributary republic, with its forces of horse and foot, its system of defence, and its considerable encircling territory (much of it communal property), joined together in their "brotherhoods" to protect the interests of the confederacy, and incidentally to strengthen the crown.

The king's legislative power was well-nigh absolute, for he could summon to the Cortes the representatives of any or all of his tributary towns, and only such of the nobles and clergy as he pleased,* while his choice as to the time and place of the meeting, or of convoking a Cortes at all, was quite unfettered. When, therefore, the nobles found that Sancho IV (the Ferocious), very far from granting fresh concessions, was inclined to cancel many of those already given, they had no alternative but armed revolt against the king.

Headed by Sancho's brother, the Infante Juan, they first demanded the dismissal of the king's favourite, Lope de

* As the nobles had exempted themselves from all direct taxation, their attendance was not needed for the kings to obtain supply when money payment had to a large extent replaced feudal aids; and during this and the next century the sovereigns gradually discontinued summoning them except to take the oath of allegiance and those holding official positions.

Haro; and to the extent of depriving Haro of some of his enormous wealth the king was ready to oblige them. Negotiations were therefore concluded for withdrawing from the favourite some of his grants and for summoning a Cortes at Alfaro (1288). But the proceedings ended in a free fight, in which Haro was killed and the king himself in dire danger; whereupon civil war again broke out, Haro's son and a party of nobles proclaiming young Alfonso de la Cerda as king, with the support of the King of Aragon.

Sancho's danger was great, but he met it like a man and a king. First marching against the rebels and inflicting a defeat upon them, he made terms with the King of France by which the latter abandoned the cause of his young cousin, Alfonso de la Cerda, in exchange for the kingdom of Murcia, which Sancho ceded to France; and he also concluded an alliance with Portugal. In the midst of his turbulent reign he was forced to march south to face a new African invasion which came to attack his Moorish tributary, the King of Granada. The Castilians repelled the African Moslems, who re-embarked at Algeciras, but Sancho was unable to capture that town, though he was more fortunate at Tarifa, which city surrendered to the Christians in 1292, and was given in keeping to the Knights of Calatrava, with a subvention of 2,000,000 maravedis a year *—an arrangement altered the fol-

* The foundation of the monkish militant Order of Calatrava, in imitation of the Knights Templars, is a good specimen of the way in which fiefs were granted by the Spanish kings during the reconquest. Alfonso VII of Castile (the Emperor) had confided the keeping of the important border castle of Calatrava to the keeping of the Knights Templars on his way to attack Almeria (1147), but on the advance of the Almohades ten years afterward the Christians abandoned the place. Sancho III then offered the castle and territory of 28 square leagues of country round it to any one who could win and hold it. The offer was accepted by two Cistercian monks—Ramon, Abbot of Fitero, and Diego Velasquez—and with the aid of the Archbishop of Toledo, who supplied them with funds and forces, the two monks won the fortress. The adventurers were shortly afterward constituted a knightly monkish order under the rules of Saint Bene-

lowing year by the undertaking of the famous Alfonso Perez de Guzman to defend the town for a subsidy of 600,000 maravedis annually.

The king's brother Juan, on the collapse of a third attempt at rebellion, had taken refuge in Morocco, and offered the Moors (1293) to recapture Tarifa. Failing in this, owing to the heroism of the defender, he obtained possession of the son of Guzman, a child of tender years, and bringing him within sight of the walls summoned the father to surrender the town or witness the decapitation of his innocent son. Guzman had pledged his word to hold Tarifa at any cost, and disdained to allow his love for his child to override his duty. With brutal cruelty and ostentation the Infante Juan beheaded the child before his father's eyes, and Alfonso Perez de Guzman the Good became henceforward one of the national heroes.

For eleven years Sancho the Ferocious was King of Castile—eleven years of uninterrupted bloodshed and anarchy; and when (in 1295) he died, he had abated no jot of the insolent armed aggression of the nobles. The heir was a child of nine, Fernando IV, and the regent appointed by the king's will was his wife, Maria de Molina, whose relationship with Sancho had made the legality of their marriage questionable, the Pope having always refused to grant a dispensation to them.

The turbulent Infante Juan, the young king's uncle, once more raised the standard of revolt, and proclaimed himself king, with the support of the Moorish King of Granada. The Regent Maria sent the greatest of the nobles, Haro and the Laras, to combat the rebel with their forces; but they joined

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dict by a papal bull (1164); and the aid of the knights being frequently solicited for the winning of places from the infidel, the possessions of the order grew very extensive, and the grand masters of this and of the other orders of Santiago, Montesa, and Alcantara, which were formed after its example, became persons of enormous wealth and vast patronage, possessing almost sovereign powers.

the insurgents, and for a time the regent and the child king had no city on their side but Valladolid, which was itself wavering. A Cortes summoned in the city, however, by the regent acknowledged Fernando IV as king (1295), but he had against him not only the rebel Infante Juan, but a powerful combination of Portugal, Aragon, Navarre, France, and Granada, all of which, bent upon the dismemberment of Castile and Leon, united in proclaiming Alfonso de la Cerda as King of Castile, as he unquestionably was by right, and the Infante Juan King of Leon.

Maria de Molina was heroic and wise. Appealing with some success to the loyalty of the nobles, but with much greater success to the towns, she collected around her in Valladolid the elements of defence. The Pope tardily sent her the dispensation which legitimized her son; Guzman the Good, having saved Tarifa and driven the Africans over the straits, stood by her side manfully; and the brave queen, fostering the "brotherhoods" of towns and summoning Cortes every year, held her own until her son Fernando reached the age to govern (1300).

Unhappily the youth was influenced by the base Infante Juan and the Laras, and immediately after his majority was proclaimed he turned upon the mother to whom he owed his crown and demanded strict account of her stewardship during his minority. The free towns were indignant at the vile ingratitude, and Medina del Campo, where the Cortes of Leon were to meet, intimated to the king that the gates would be shut against him unless he came accompanied by his mother.

The magnanimity of Maria de Molina was, however, proof against all the ingratitude of her son, and of those who had been his enemies; and the queen, appearing by the side of Fernando in the Cortes, begged the latter, if only out of affection for her, to be loyal to their king, after which she proved triumphantly the honesty and purity of her administration during the king's minority.

The fortress of Algeciras was still held by the African Moors, and against it Fernando IV determined to lead his forces, while his ally, Jaime II of Aragon, attacked Almeria by sea. Assembling Cortes in Madrid, Fernando obtained from them the necessary resources; but no sooner was he before the fortress than his self-seeking nobles began to play him false, and to demand concessions as a premium for their loyalty; whereupon he patched up a peace with the Moors and retired to Burgos. Shortly afterward the tributary King of Granada again began to cause trouble, and Fernando went to join his army at Alcaudete. When he arrived at Martos, the contemporary chroniclers * say, that two brothers Carvajal were brought before him for the murder of Don Juan de Benavides and were hastily condemned to death, although they solemnly protested their innocence and prayed for an opportunity of proving it. The accused, by Fernando's orders, were cast from a high precipice, and in the act of death summoned the king to meet them before the High Tribunal within thirty days. Needless to say, Fernando fell ill, and died at Jaen on the thirtieth day after (1312), and he accordingly goes down to history under the name of Fernando the Summoned.

Before relating the events of the brilliant reign of Fernando's successor to the crowns of Leon and Castile it will be advisable to glance at the progress of affairs in the sister realm of Aragon after the death of Jaime the Conqueror (1276). We have related in an earlier page that the Conqueror's eldest son, Pedro, inherited the Spanish dominions of his father, while Jaime, the younger, obtained the French territories and the Balearic Isles as tributary to his brother, the King of Aragon. Pedro, afterward called the Great, inherited the foreign policy of his father, with a large share of

* It is perhaps hardly correct to say that *contemporary* chronicles tell this doubtful story. It is first related by Ben Al Hatib fifty years after it is supposed to have happened.

his determination and ability. His first acts after he was crowned in Zaragoza were to crush the attempted rising of nobles in Catalonia * and the revolt of the oppressed Moors in Valencia, and to prove to his subjects, including his brother, the tributary King Jaime of Majorca, that the mantle of the greater Jaime had fallen upon worthy shoulders.

The ambition of Jaime the Conqueror to found a powerful Romance empire had been defeated by the progress of France southward, but the marriage of Pedro with the daughter of Manfred of Sicily opened out a wider prospect still toward the east, and dictated the foreign policy of Aragon for centuries afterward. On the death of the Emperor Conrad IV, Duke of Swabia, his infant son Conradino succeeded under the tutelage of the excommunicated Manfred of Sicily, his uncle. The papacy was at daggers drawn with the empire and the house of Swabia, and the Pope nominated Charles, Duke of Anjou, King of Sicily, who defeated and killed Manfred at the battle of Benevento (1266), and entered into the government of his realm, shortly afterward executing the boy Conradino, titular King of Sicily, Duke of Swabia, and prospective emperor (1268).

Charles of Anjou, the papal nominee, was a tyrant. Already, when the boy king Conradino was sacrificed, the French usurper was detested; and the cry for vengeance from the victim, as he threw his glove from the scaffold among the spectators, resounded in many a Sicilian heart. When the story and the glove were carried to Aragon, Jaime the Conqueror and his son Pedro saw that here was a kingdom almost ripe for their grasping. It was a task for Pedro, rather than for his father, for Pedro's wife was the daughter of King Manfred and the aunt of Conradino.

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* The excuse for the rising was that Pedro had neglected to proceed at once to Barcelona, after being crowned at Zaragoza, in order to take the oath to observe the privileges of Catalonia and receive the subsequent homage of the Catalans.

But it was a serious undertaking, for it meant defiance to the papacy, which claimed Aragon as a fief and had placed Jaime the Conqueror on his throne. When Pedro III was crowned he took the first step, and throwing off the suzerainty to which his grandfather had submitted, he solemnly declared that he owed no allegiance to Rome. No churchman was allowed to aid him in assuming the royal symbols, and Pedro openly defied the Pope to interfere with him in his own kingdom. Then a strong fleet was prepared in Barcelona and Valencia, and, all indifferent to the papal excommunication, Pedro III of Aragon made ready to assert his wife's right to her dead father's crown.

The massacre of Frenchmen in Palermo, known by the name of the Sicilian "Vespers," precipitated matters. Charles of Anjou hurried with a fleet to Messina, bent upon punishing his subjects, but Pedro of Aragon was before him. Anjou's fleet was destroyed by the Aragonese sailor, Pedro Querel, and soon the King of Aragon was master of Sicily, to the enthusiastic joy of the inhabitants. In vain Anjou challenged Pedro to combat at Bordeaux, for the Pope forbade the challenger himself to attend the lists, although the chivalrous, unstable King Jaime of Majorca, Pedro's brother, attended and answered defiance to Anjou and all his crew.*

The Pope (Martin IV, a Frenchman) had a better way of dealing with Pedro than by personal combat, and, exercising his asserted right of suzerainty over Aragon and Catalonia, proclaimed a crusade against them and granted the

* Edward I of England was to have presided at the lists, at which 100 French knights were to run against 100 Aragonese. Pedro himself hastened to the tryst, but was warned in time that treachery and massacre were meant, and escaped in disguise. The Pope gave rigid orders for the abandonment of the affair, and neither Edward I nor Anjou was present. King Jaime, however, appears to have arrived on the scene at the hour originally fixed, and to have gone through the form of defiance, a record of his proceedings having been officially drawn up. It will be seen that Jaime subsequently opposed his brother's policy of expansion.

joint crowns to Philip of Valois, the son of Philip the Bold, who, with the aid of his father, advanced to take possession of his Spanish realm. This was a golden opportunity for the ambitious feudal nobles of Aragon. Jaime the Conqueror, after his long life of struggle with them, had in the end somewhat humbled them; but King Pedro's need was their gain, and they sulked aside and imposed hard conditions as a return for their aid. The towns, rich Barcelona and Gerona particularly, stood by the king manfully, and by their aid he obtained some successes over the French invaders, regaining Gerona, which they had seized, and destroying their fleet, thanks to the skill of the famous Roger de Lauria.

The savage attacks on the French by the African auxiliaries of Aragon, the Almogavares, completed the discomfiture of the invaders; and the vast crusading army of 100,000 men, led by the dying Philip the Bold in person, retraced its steps by the road it had come through the desolated towns whose populations the soldiers of the Cross had massacred on their way (1285).

Thus it happened that, though the King of Aragon became King of Sicily, with undefined dreams of expansion toward the Holy Land and the far Orient, two French princes were established as claimants for his crowns, and the power of the papacy was cast permanently on the side of France in the coming secular struggle between that country and Aragon. Castile, be it remembered, had no vital points of dispute with France, for Navarre and Aragon formed a buffer between her and the French Pyrenean frontier; but thenceforward the eyes of Aragon and Catalonia turned steadily eastward to Italy, and by every road they sought to reach it they found a Frenchman in their way. The different interests of the two principal Spanish kingdoms must not be lost sight of, because, as will be seen later, it affords a key to much that would otherwise be unintelligible.

At the hour of Pedro's greatest need, in 1283, his recal-

citrant nobles met in the Cortes of Tarragona and formulated a series of complaints and demands such as had never before been presented to a sovereign; and on this occasion the greater towns also complained of a foreign policy which pledged them to vast expenditure without due consultation. A few months later, at a Cortes held at Zaragoza, the prudent king acceded to all the extravagant conditions imposed by the nobles, and subsequently embodied in the Privilege of Union, which was five years afterward accepted by Pedro's son.* It was only at this cost that Pedro gained the aid of his nobles in support of his "spirited foreign policy"; but withal the support was only partial and grudging, for it was a serious matter to fight against the Pope, and even the flighty King Jaime of Majorca sided with the enemies of his brother. It was while making preparations for a punitive expedition against his brother Jaime that Pedro the Great of Aragon died (1285)—one of the few worthy kings at a period when it was difficult for sovereigns to be otherwise than bad.

Pedro left to his eldest son, Alfonso III of Aragon, his Spanish dominions, and to his younger son, Jaime, the kingdom of Sicily. The former was at sea with Lauria on his way to punish his uncle Jaime, King of Majorca, when his father died; and he humbled the island before he returned to take possession of his inheritance. In his first proclamation to his people after his landing he assumed the title of King of Aragon, Majorca, and Valencia and Count of Barcelona; but as he had not yet sworn to protect the privileges of his subjects, the nobles seized upon this as a means of humiliating him. Prohibiting him from assuming the royal state or title until he had received his investiture, they summoned him

* This was not only a reiteration of all the early conditions limiting and checking the exercise of the royal power, but it gave to subjects the legal right to combine and make war upon their sovereign if they considered that he had failed in his part of the bargain.

to Zaragoza, where he was forced to apologize before even the conditional loyalty of the nobles was proffered him.

Proceeding from one insolence to another, the league of nobles at last offended many of their own order who stood by the king, and for the next three years a destructive civil war between the two parties of nobles raged, generally speaking, to the disadvantage of the king.

At length, at a Cortes at Zaragoza in 1288, the sovereign was constrained to grant the famous Privilege of Union, which legally confirmed the concessions already seized by the nobles. The king was prohibited from proceeding against any member of the Union without the accord of the chief justice and the Cortes;* he was bound to summon Cortes in November of every year at Zaragoza, in which the members would elect the king's council for the following twelve months. These and several similar concessions reduced the royal power to a minimum, and at a later period, as will be seen, the grant was not only cancelled but every record of it destroyed. Pedro the Great had left Sicily to his second son, Jaime; and Roger de Lauria, with the Aragonese fleet, succeeded in securing his peaceful establishment. But with an inimical French king in Naples opposite, and the ceaseless intrigues of Rome, the position was untenable permanently, both in Sicily and Aragon, unless some *modus vivendi* could be arrived at. Edward I of England was the chosen arbitrator, and laboured ceaselessly to bring about an accord, meeting on one occasion Alfonso of Aragon personally on the

* A few years afterward (1301) an important case was decided which gives an interesting example of the supremacy of the law in Aragon, and of the manner in which disputes between the king and the nobles were decided. A number of the nobles had risen in arms on the pretext that the king owed them some sums of money. At the Cortes of Zaragoza of 1301 permission was given for the case to be submitted to the chief justice, who decided in favour of the king, condemning the nobles to the forfeiture of their fiefs and various terms of banishment.

Isle of Oléron, when terms were arranged. But the tardiness or bad faith of the parties stood in the way, and the treaty was left unfulfilled. Matters were aggravated also by the appearance in Jaca of papal legates from Nicholas IV, haughtily demanding of Alfonso III the immediate release of the Prince of Salerno, the son of the Anjou King of Naples, whom he held prisoner in Barcelona. Alfonso himself was also summoned to appear before the Pope within six months, and to refrain from aiding his brother of Sicily.

At length, tired of a struggle in which many of his own subjects were against him, Alfonso gave way; and by the treaty of Tarascon (1291) he submitted humbly to the Pope, who recognised him as King of Aragon and Majorca, while Sicily was to be abandoned to young Charles of Anjou, the Prince of Salerno, and Alfonso himself was to marry Eleanor of England. Before, however, the treaty could be carried into effect, and in the midst of the preparations for the marriage, Alfonso III of Aragon died, and Jaime of Sicily became his heir. Again the agreement fell through, for the new king, Jaime II of Aragon, had no intention, if he could help it, of giving up Sicily, where he was very popular.

Leaving his brother Fadrique * and Roger de Lauria in charge of his Sicilian kingdom, Jaime II hurried to Zaragoza to receive the investiture of his new kingdoms, effected an alliance with Sancho IV (the Ferocious) of Castile, and then sought by negotiation to gain his ends. The papacy was in the throes of violent change, and there had been no stable pontiff for some years, when Boniface VIII mounted the throne, and with a strong hand arranged matters to his liking.

By the treaty of Anarqui Jaime of Aragon was to submit to the Pope, to marry the daughter of Charles II of Anjou, King of Naples, and to surrender all claim to Sicily; upon

* Alfonso III in his will had requested his successor, Jaime, to cede Sicily to this prince when he (Jaime) should succeed to Aragon.

which the Pope would raise his ban and recognise him as King of Aragon. But there was a secret treaty, by which Jaime was to furnish a fleet to enable the King of France treacherously to attack England, and Jaime was made by the Pope King of Corsica and Sardinia.

But they had reckoned without their Sicilians. The inhabitants of the island had not shaken off the yoke of Anjou to be quietly handed back at the pleasure of potentates whom they never saw, and they promptly repudiated the arrangement and proclaimed the Infante Fadrique as their king. As in duty bound by his treaty, Jaime II of Aragon sent expeditions to expel his brother from the realm which he himself had bartered away. The King of Sicily's navy was scattered by his old friend Roger de Lauria, against him now; but still stout Fadrique would not give in. Then Charles of Anjou, with special papal powers, tried his hand, and failed disastrously; and Fadrique's firmness finally had its reward in his recognition by all as King of Sicily, on condition of his marriage with the daughter of the Anjou King of Naples, and the adoption of the latter as his heir.*

Jaime II did not obtain possession of his new islands of Sardinia and Corsica without opposition from the Genoese and Pisans, who had held them for centuries; but at length, in 1324 and 1326 respectively, he entered into his nominal sovereignty, though for many years afterward the islands were Aragonese in little more than name. Jaime II himself died in 1327, leaving as his successor his son, Alfonso IV,

* As a pendant to this war the famous expedition of the Catalans to the East took place in 1302. A large number of Catalan and Aragonese adventurers had fought for Fadrique, and when the war ended they formed a body of 4,000 foot and 500 horse, under Roger de Flor and Berenguer de Enteneza, and accepted the offer of Andronicus, Emperor of Constantinople, to enter his service against the Turks. After extraordinary adventures and varied success, they dominated the whole of Macedonia, and subsequently Athens itself, the dukedom of which they offered as a fief to Fadrique.

the whole of whose nine years' reign was taken up by wars and quarrels between Catalonia and Genoa with regard to the control of the navigation of the Mediterranean, and the discords raised by Alfonso's second wife, Eleanor of Castile, in the interests of her own children and to the prejudice of Pedro, the son of Alfonso by his first marriage and his successor to the crown in 1336.

From the first day of his reign Pedro IV of Aragon was face to face with his nobles, and the greater part of his long reign was occupied in his dissensions with them. The new king was an overbearing, ambitious man, a great stickler for his rights and the letter of the law, which character gained for him the title of Pedro the Ceremonious. When, therefore, the Catalan and Valencian nobles demanded that he should take the oath to preserve the liberties of those dominions before being crowned as King of Aragon in Zaragoza and receiving the homage of the Catalans and Valencians as such, the king refused; and the nobles, except the Aragonese, absented themselves in a body from the coronation, and continued to frown upon him when, according to the Constitution, he presented himself at Lerida and Valencia to receive the investiture of Catalonia and Valencia.

This was the beginning of a faction war, of which the immediate cause was the dissensions between Pedro and his stepmother, Eleanor of Castile, and her two sons, Fernando and Juan, to whom the late king had left important independent lordships, which Pedro was disinclined to recognise. Alfonso XI of Castile took up arms in defence of his nephews' rights, and Pedro, with the Union of nobles mostly against him, was obliged to give in and submit the question at issue to jurists. These naturally pronounced in favour of the two young Infantes Fernando and Juan, who thus retained the estates their father had left them.

After seven years of civil discord, Pedro IV bethought himself that his tributary King Jaime of Majorca, his brother-

in-law and cousin, had not yet paid homage, and as Jaime was at war in his French dominions with Philip of Valois, it seemed a favourable opportunity for seizing Majorca with all the forms of law. When King Pedro had become master of the Baleares, he followed Jaime to his county of Roussillon, from which he expelled him, and finally to his lordship of Montpellier, where Jaime fell in battle, and his young son, another Jaime, was captured by his merciless uncle and carried to Barcelona.

The lords of the Union, who looked upon Pedro IV with growing suspicion, soon found another good reason for fighting him under the strong leadership of his own next brother, the Infante Jaime, Count of Urgel. On one occasion only had the crown of Aragon passed to a woman, when Petronilla succeeded her father, Ramiro the Monk (1137); but on that occasion the royal power was vested from the first in her husband, the Count of Barcelona, and there were powerful national reasons for the arrangement. Pedro the Ceremonious, having no sons, endeavoured to avail himself of this precedent for settling the crown on his daughter Constanza, to the exclusion of his next brother Jaime. This was held to be an infraction of the Constitution, and the Union legally rose in arms against the king.* And not nobles alone, but the burgesses and small gentry joined forces with the Union, and demanded the king's presence at a Cortes in Zaragoza to renew his oath to respect the privileges of his subjects. Pedro dared not refuse, and was received with cold courtesy by his offended subjects, to whom he granted every concession demanded, although he previously made a secret declaration that if he were forced to go beyond the letter of the law his concessions would be of no value.

Pedro made good use of his opportunities in Zaragoza, and managed to divide the nobles, attracting to his side the

* The king's contention was that his brother had forfeited his rights by taking the part of the late Jaime, King of Majorca.

powerful Don Lope de Luna and a number of others who were opposed to the extreme measures of their colleagues. Summoning a new Cortes in Barcelona, with the pretended object of reconciliation, the king now thought himself strong enough to strike a blow at the nobles. Their leader, the Infante Jaime, heir to the crown, was poisoned as soon as he arrived in the city, and the announcement of the king's legislative proposals drove the Union to open war. Led by the king's younger half-brother, Fernando, they gained at first some successes; but Pedro's adherents met the army of the nobles at Epila, near Zaragoza, and utterly routed them with terrible slaughter, the Infante Fernando being captured, and murdered shortly afterward at his brother's table (1348).

The loss of the principal nobles of the Union at Epila was a deathblow to the feudal cause in Aragon; but the Valencian nobles were still in arms in their capital, and they had to be crushed before the king's triumph was complete. Before dealing his final blow King Pedro summoned a Cortes at Zaragoza, and there, in the presence of all, he took the parchment upon which was engrossed the terms of the Privilege of Union and with his dagger hacked it into shreds, and ordered to be expunged for ever all official record or mention of such a grant.

Then hurrying to Valencia, he dealt with the rest of the rebels. The city was being swept by the plague, and panic had seized upon the inhabitants. The terrible news of Epila, and of the violent abrogation of the Privilege of Union, came to the nobles like a sentence of doom, and when they met the king's forces at Mislata they were defeated, and submitted to their angry sovereign. There was no mercy shown to the leaders; and thenceforward the nobles of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia took their seats in the parliaments, and shared the government with the king and the burgesses, but they were an oligarchy no more.

In justice to Pedro it should be mentioned that he only

abrogated the overbearing Privilege of Union, which had been wrung from his predecessors in their hours of weakness; he made no attempt to infringe upon the general charter of Aragon, which made the sovereign himself subject to the law and perfectly protected all ranks of citizens from illegal oppression on the part of their kings. Pedro, indeed, when he had established his supremacy of arms, increased the power of the chief justice, who in future was practically irremovable, and by a number of enactments which increased the security of the private citizen proved that he understood the policy of securing the sympathy of the middle classes.

The birth of a son to Pedro IV by his third wife, Eleanor of Sicily, put an end to one of the causes of civil strife in Aragon by providing a direct male heir to the crown; but a few years later it gave rise to exactly similar dissensions to those which had occurred at the end of the former reign, Pedro's fourth wife, Sibyl de Foix, being the object of the bitter persecution of her husband's son Juan.

Aragon was already feeling some of the troubles entailed by the possession of colonies. Sicily had for the present been lost to her by Fadrique's treaty with the King of Naples; but Sardinia, only half subdued by the Aragonese, and still coveted by the Genoese, kept Pedro at war in the Mediterranean for well-nigh forty years, and drove him at last to consent to a divided dominion, which his subjects considered a disgrace to him and them (1386).

When the Union was in arms against him Pedro had entered into an alliance with Pedro the Cruel of Castile, the terms of which included the murder of their respective brothers—Don Fernando, who was duly killed, as already related, after he was captured at Epila, and Henry of Trastamara, the elder half-brother of Pedro of Castile. Pedro of Aragon did not carry out the latter part of the agreement, but espoused the cause of Henry the Castilian pretender, and aided him and his French allies in the long series of wars

which ended in the murder of Pedro the Cruel and the elevation of Henry of Trastamara to the Castilian throne. The results of this long and inglorious series of wars was of no great importance to Aragon, except in weakening Castile and obliging France by opposing England, Castile's ally; but it left Valencia and Catalonia exhausted and discontented at the long interruption to the peaceful Mediterranean trade from which they drew their wealth; and when Pedro IV died, in 1387, after a reign of fifty-one years, a sigh of relief went up from the united realms that so expensive a monarch had gone to his rest.

It would be perhaps too much to say that Pedro of Aragon was a diplomatist of the first rank, because his diplomacy, like that of his contemporary namesake in Castile, consisted mainly of utter unscrupulousness and bad faith, but it is idle to deny that his reign was almost as important for Aragon as that of Jaime the Conqueror. The feudal nobles were finally put into their proper place, the territories of Aragon were greatly increased, the liberties of the people were not only maintained but augmented, and the assumption of the dukedom of Athens by Pedro marked the continuity of the Aragonese policy of eastern expansion.

Juan I of Aragon, who succeeded his father, Pedro IV, lost no time in using his power to persecute his stepmother, Sibyl de Foix, who he affected to believe had bewitched his father. She only escaped torture and death by surrendering all the property the late king had left her, but most of her friends were put to death as accomplices. Juan was a pleasure-loving prince, saturated with the fashionable taste for poetry and shows. No court in Europe was more splendid than his: musicians, poets, and fine gentlemen flocked from France, from Italy, and even from England, to add to the charm of the court at Zaragoza. Violante, Juan's French consort, was more enamoured even than he of the "gay science" of song; but courts of love, floral games, and the

decadent frivolity of the posturing Provençals by whom she was surrounded went sorely against the grain of the rough Aragonese and Catalans, who at last, in the Cortes of Monzon in 1388, demanded that a clean sweep should be made of them all and the expenses of the court reduced.

Juan gave way with a bad grace; but the Cortes of Aragon were now too powerful for the king to withstand, and in future he was forced to content himself with the distractions of lovemaking and hunting, in the latter of which he met with his death in 1395 by a fall from his horse.

His brother Martin the Humane was in Sicily when Juan was killed, asserting his right to the crown of the island in right of his wife, a Sicilian princess. Leaving his son Martin as King of Sicily, he hastened to Aragon, and after a short contest with Juan's daughters, who claimed the throne, Martin the Humane was acknowledged King of Aragon. But a new and serious obstacle to him appeared from abroad. The schism in the papacy had continued for many years, and the Aragonese cardinal, Pedro de Luna, had been chosen as Benedict XIII, the Anti-Pope, at Avignon. All Spaniards, of course, eagerly welcomed the elevation of their countryman, and the Pope in Rome, Boniface IX, in revenge, granted the investiture of Sardinia and Sicily to the rival claimants, and pronounced the King of Aragon deposed.

Martin of Sicily, sure of the loyalty of the Sicilians, hurried to Sardinia to oppose Bracaleone Doria in that island, where, after a series of engagements, Martin of Sicily died; and a few months afterward his father, Martin the Humane of Aragon, followed his only son to the grave, leaving no direct heir to the crowns of his realms, Aragon for the next two years falling a prey to anarchy and civil war as a consequence of the rival claims of six pretenders to the crown (1410–1412).

It is now time to revert to the events in Castile, which we left on the accession of the infant King Alfonso XI as the successor of his father, Fernando IV (the Summoned), in 1312.

The formation of the confederacies of towns as a counterbalance to the turbulent factions of nobles in Castile and Leon had been fostered by the old Queen Maria de Molina during her regency, and had made her the most powerful individual in the state on the death of her son Fernando IV.

To her the middle classes generally looked for guidance when once more a regency became necessary by the accession of the infant Alfonso XI to the throne. But the nobles, whom she had beaten before, were determined, if possible, to prevent her accession to power again, and there arose at once a struggle for the regency. The uncles of the child king, Don Pedro and Don Juan, two other members of the royal house, Don Juan Manuel and Don Felipe, Don Juan Nuñez de Lara, a great noble, and the king's mother, Doña Constanza, as well as his grandmother, Doña Maria de Molina, were all rivals for the guardianship of the sovereign; but the city of Avila, where Alfonso happened to be, was faithful to Doña Maria de Molina, and it was she who proposed terms which might end the conflict. At a Cortes held at Palencia in January, 1313, it was arranged that the regency should be divided between Don Pedro and Doña Maria de Molina on the one side and Don Juan and the queen mother Constanza on the other, and that each party should hold sway in the cities which declared in their respective favour. Shortly afterward, however, Doña Constanza died, and by mutual consent the custody of the king was given to his grandmother.

But the evil of a divided control had reduced Castile to utter confusion, and the Moors of Granada took the opportunity to raid Christian territory. The two infantes, Pedro and Juan, led a force against the Moslems, and both were killed in 1319. The sole regent, Maria de Molina, was then opposed by the king's second cousins, Don Juan Manuel, who obtained the regency by vote of the Cortes of Burgos in 1320, and Don Felipe, while another member of the royal

family, Don Juan the One-eyed, intrigued in Navarre with the senior prince of the Cerda branch.

In this state of almost complete anarchy, where the only respect for law was maintained by the brotherhoods of towns, Doña Maria summoned a Cortes at Palencia to decide some of the urgent questions at issue; but she died before they could meet, and Juan Manuel remained sole regent for the next four years, when the king, Alfonso XI, was declared of age at fourteen. Boy as he was, he promptly made his relatives understand that he intended to be master. Juan the One-eyed was murdered in the king's palace, Juan Manuel fled to the shelter of Moslem Granada, and the turbulent nobles were brought to their bearings by confiscations and exemplary punishments, which earned for the king the title of "the Doer of Justice."

Alfonso XI was neither a model of private virtue nor overscrupulous as to the means he employed to gain political ends, but at least he was a ruler who knew his own mind and understood the problems before him. In a progress through all the principal towns of his realms he gained the good will of the middle classes by the confirmation and extension of their municipal privileges. The Cortes were summoned now regularly: and with an amount of state never assumed before the sovereign's supreme council, which since the days of Alfonso's father (1295 and 1297) had been annually nominated by the Cortes, grew in power and importance, and a deputation of the members of Cortes were in permanent session during the recess. Like his grandmother Maria de Molina, Alfonso XI perceived plainly that the united forces of the free towns were an army upon which more dependence might be placed than the contingents contributed by self-seeking nobles, who were as likely to turn their arms against the sovereign as to help him; and he accordingly, while confirming the powers of the municipalities, endeavoured to get that power under his own control by

the appointment of municipal officers to supervise the town councils.*

By the end of Alfonso XI's reign the municipalities, though still apparently as powerful as ever, had really lost their initiative, and were overpowered by chief alcaldes appointed by the king. Once more the rule of law was supreme. The Siete Partidas of Alfonso the Learned were for the first time promulgated as the national code in 1348, and the collection of municipal charters (the Fuero de Albedrio) first made by Sancho IV (1284–1295) was supplemented under his grandson Alfonso XI by the important Becerro de Behetrias,† or collection of charters of free towns.

A great mass of social legislation, moreover, was effected by Alfonso XI and his immediate successor. Statutes of

* This was done carefully at first and under various pretexts. I have before me, for instance, the abstract of a manuscript belonging to the Duke of Frias, confirming an order given by Alfonso XI, appointing various commissioners to assist the ordinary alcaldes, merinos, and notaries of the city of Burgos "in all the affairs of the council of that city, in order to prevent certain men from attending and raising discord, thereby obstructing the deliberations for the common benefit."

In another document of the same sovereign, dated 1327, the city of Seville is deprived of the right of choosing the mayor and jurats, on the ground that the election "caused much evil, great scandal, and serious disturbance." By these and similar means the town councils and alcaldes gradually became nominative, and in very many cases the office of chief alcalde was made the hereditary office of a great noble. In some of the principal cities of Andalusia a still more vicious form crept in, where the office of corregidor or alderman was alienable by sale. In other cases the thin edge of the wedge was introduced by the appointment of a corregidor, usually a noble living in or near the town, ostensibly as a joint mayor, who in time became practically the governor.

† The privilege of Behetrias was quite unique. Unlike the Realengo towns, which were the king's fiefs, and the Solariego towns, or nobles' tributaries, the Behetrias had the right of choosing their own lord, either from the members of a particular family or quite freely. They were, in effect, small republics, choosing their own life presidents. The nobles were extremely jealous of them, and Alfonso XI himself curtailed their powers.

labourers, vagrant laws, administrative reforms, and, above all, sumptuary regulations, emanated from the annual Cortes, which sent their draft edicts to the king for his sanction. No taxes could be imposed upon the towns without the prior sanction of their representatives in parliament; and as the nobles and clergy were not directly taxed at all beyond the feudal service in arms, which at this period (the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) was waning, a great change came over the constitution of the Castilian Cortes.

We have seen that to councils of bishops official or palatine nobles had been added, and that during the first centuries of the reconquest the military nobility had swamped the ecclesiastics in the national assemblies. But with the declining political importance of the territorial military lords and the rise in the power of the free towns, it had suited the kings to invite the representatives of the municipalities to the assemblies (1169 and 1188). As has already been explained, the sovereign might summon such of the nobles and royal towns as he pleased, and the number of the latter varied greatly, although in theory all the towns holding fiefs direct from the crown had a right to attend. In the Cortes of Burgos, for instance (1315), 90 towns were represented by 192 members, while in the Cortes of Madrid (1391) only 50 towns were represented by 126 members. But with the increase of the money subsidy and the declining importance of the feudal aid, the nobles and ecclesiastics as such gradually ceased to be summoned except on special occasions or by virtue of the official positions they might occupy—as was the case with the palatine officials of the later Visigothic kings—as members of the king's council, officers of state, judges of the king's court, and so forth; and the great landowning nobles and clergy thenceforward, as a class, had no special legislative privileges in Castile. They had indeed by their own greed worked their own political destruction. They had carefully evaded all share in the national burdens except their feudal aid, and

thus in the important transition period of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they found that their presence and co-operation in the national assemblies (mainly summoned for taxing purposes) were not needed by the sovereign, who drew his revenue from other sources, and naturally appealed to those upon whom he depended for it.

Alfonso's legislative activity, great and far-reaching as it was, did not exhaust his energies. Early in his reign he had to teach his turbulent nobles the lesson they so sorely needed; but when he was free from them a more pressing danger threatened his realm. Algeciras was still in the hands of the Moslem, and was a constant open gate for the Moorish raids into Andalusia; and in 1340 the King of Morocco, with a vast fleet of 250 sail, approached the Spanish coast, destroyed the Castilian galleys, and landed a considerable army. Alfonso XI had alienated his wife's brother, the King of Portugal, by his open preference for his mistress, Doña Maria de Guzman, over his legitimate queen; but he temporarily made his peace with him, and, enlisting the aid also of Pedro IV of Aragon and hiring 15 Genoese galleys, he succeeded, after some partial defeats, in completely destroying the Saracen host at the great battle of Salado near Tarifa and in capturing an immense booty.

On receiving news two years afterward of the preparation of a fresh Moorish expedition, Alfonso summoned a Cortes at Burgos, and obtained supplies to assume the defensive, proceeding to lay siege to Algeciras, which fell, after an heroic defence of a year and a half, in 1344. This was of the utmost importance, because it deprived the Moslem of his principal port of entrance. But Gibraltar was still in the hands of the Moor, and at the great Cortes of Alcalá * in 1348 Alfonso

* This Cortes of Alcalá was not only famous for the promulgation of the Alfonsine Code, but for a great mass of other legislation of the highest interest. The whole of the municipal and general privileges were confirmed, but with the very important modification that they were only valid while actually exercised, and the privileges of the

asked for and obtained funds to capture the place. The siege was long; a great epidemic broke out in the Castilian army, but Alfonso XI obstinately refused to retire, even for a time, and in the early spring of 1350 the king himself fell a victim to the plague. By his wife, Maria of Portugal, he had only one son of fifteen years, called Pedro, but by his beloved mistress, Maria de Guzman, who had quite supplanted the queen, he left a large family, his unjust partiality for whom had greatly offended his subjects, high and low. Young Pedro, who had been brought up in Seville by his repudiated and neglected mother, was a youth of fierce and ungovernable passions, who from his childhood had been taught that in due time vengeance would be his; and young as he was on his father's death, he was ready to go beyond his lesson.

King Alfonso had left to his eldest illegitimate son Henry the princely fief of Trastamara, and had splendidly provided for Maria de Guzman and her other children. This naturally aroused the jealousy of the new king and his mother, and from the first days of Pedro's accession the persecution of

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nobles were treated in a similar spirit. This Cortes made a presentment to the king, deploring the increasing luxury and extravagance of the age, and proposing the most stringent rules for the suppression of the same. These rules are extremely interesting, as marking the much higher standard of expenditure as compared with the edicts of Alfonso X ninety years before. What seemed to trouble the Cortes most was the great extravagance in dress and in wedding outfits. Even the rules laid down show how lavish was the expenditure on adornments. The bride's wedding garments might cost 4,000 maravedis, and the groom's 2,000, while 32 guests might legally be invited to the feast. No gentleman might give his wife more than three suits of clothes within four months of marriage, and the wearing of trains, except by noble ladies in litters, was forbidden to women as a costly, useless, and objectionable fashion. It is very noticeable, as marking the decline of noble privilege, that in this code the nobles who offend are to lose one fourth of their lands, knights one third of their property, and citizens to be fined 500 maravedis; while, instead of torture and death, the poorer classes, for slight offences against the sumptuary code, were only condemned to lose the offending garment or its cost in money.

his half-brothers commenced. The deadly feud which flooded Castile with blood opened with the banishment of the king's half-brothers and the treacherous imprisonment and subsequent murder in Seville of Maria de Guzman, although the principal blame for this last must be cast not upon the boy King Pedro I—not yet known as Pedro the Cruel—but upon his mother and his prime adviser, Don Juan de Alburquerque, who had been his father's minister.

The usually accepted verdict that Pedro was a monster of iniquity must not be indorsed without some qualification. The chronicles of his reign were written by Lopez de Ayala, the official historian of his enemy and successor, and the blackest face is put upon every event that tells against Pedro. We have seen that his predecessors and contemporaries held entirely different views from our own as to the sanctity of human life and the permanence of the wedding tie; we have seen lust and murder ruling triumphant in the palaces of kings; we have seen that plighted troth, loyalty, and sacred honour were things to be talked about in high-sounding phrases, and used as mere pawns upon the board of intrigue, when it suited the purpose of the prince.

That Pedro adopted the only policy then known to such as him, the policy followed by Alfonsos and Jaimes for centuries, is not to be wondered at. That he was cruel, a perjurer, a profligate, and a murderer, is no doubt true, for that was the way of Peninsular kings of his day; but to gibbet him for all time as the exceptionally "cruel" King of Castile is to falsify history and to shut our eyes to the habits and ethics of mediæval Spain. The secret of his failure and unpopularity with the nobles must not be sought so much in his wickedness and his falsity, great as they were, as in his determination to continue his father's policy of depending mainly upon the support of the towns represented in Cortes, and so to be able to oppose the efforts of the nobles to gain the paramount power in the state.

With this end a Cortes was summoned at Valladolid in the year after Pedro's accession (1351), and a mass of legislation was adopted for the benefit of the middle classes. Labourers were forced under heavy punishment to work from sunrise to sunset at a fixed wage, and vagrancy was brutally punished; commerce and industry were protected by the prohibition of monopolies and forestalling, and by the restriction of the powers of the workmen's guilds. An embryo system of citizen police for the apprehension of malefactors was established, by which, on the ringing of an alarm bell, a band of armed inhabitants had to turn out for service.* The denudation of forests was restricted, and the personal security of the vassals of nobles was guaranteed. The higher classes were also struck at by a perfectly ferocious set of laws, limiting the splendour of apparel and household appointments.

While negotiations were progressing with the King of France for the marriage of Pedro with a French princess, Blanche de Bourbon, the young king formed an alliance with Maria de Padilla; and when Alburquerque and the queen mother, with infinite pressure, at last induced Pedro to leave his mistress for the purpose of being married, he did so sulkily, and the third day after the wedding practically imprisoned his French bride, who was afterward poisoned (1366), and to the scandal of his people again openly lived with Maria de Padilla. On the birth of her daughter Constance (afterward married to John of Gaunt) and Maria de Padilla's temporary

* This was called the Somaten, and in Aragon, at least, it was in operation in the present century. Another rather curious series of enactments was passed at the request of this Cortes. The towns complained greatly of the burden placed upon them by the visits of the court, and it was decreed that in future the principal cities should not be expected in such case to provide more than 45 sheep, at 8 maravedis each; 22 dozen of dried fish, at 12 maravedis a dozen; and 90 maravedis' worth of fresh fish, with other provisions in proportion; the total value of the feast never to exceed 1,850 maravedis. Villages and individual nobles were not to spend more than 800 maravedis on a similar occasion.

retirement to a convent, the youthful king, still under twenty, violated a lady of high rank, who was already betrothed to the Church, Juana de Castro, and, to save appearances, married her, only again to repudiate her on the return of his first mistress, whom he also had married.

All this formed an excellent pretext for the League of nobles, and even several of the towns, to revolt. Pedro was entrapped into the city of Toro, and there an ultimatum was presented to him; but, thanks to the management of his Jew treasurer, Samuel Levi, he escaped, and fled to Seville. Organizing a force, he marched northward and captured Toledo, which had resisted him, and perpetrated a fearful massacre of all the principal merchants, most of whom were Jews. Then proceeding to Toro, he wreaked his vengeance unchecked (1356). Nobles, knights, and citizens were butchered in his presence by scores; until at last, we are told, the chamber itself was ankle deep in the blood of the slain.

When Toro was sufficiently humbled the king returned to his favourite Seville again; and there, under the plea of reconciliation, his half-brother Fadrique, Grand Master of Santiago, was invited to visit him, with emphatic assurance of safety. In the king's presence his brother was murdered with every circumstance of atrocity; and Pedro's own dagger, we are assured, struck at last the fatal blow (1357). Then there swept over Castile a perfect blight of murder. From the king's alcazar at Seville there went forth ruffians whose duty it was to seek out and slay every prominent man who was known to be opposed to the king. Don Juan of Aragon,* his cousin, fell a victim to the hate of Pedro, whose guest he

* Don Juan was a claimant to the lordship of Biscay in right of his wife, and Pedro had promised him the investiture on his undertaking to kill Pedro's brother Fadrique. As this, however, was done by other hands, Don Juan himself was treacherously slain in the king's presence, and then his mutilated corpse thrown out of the window to the Biscayners who formed his train, with the cry: "There is your lord; take him."

was; and soon afterward Pedro's youngest half-brother, a child, and another brother's wife were murdered by his orders (1359). To go through all the list of atrocities related by Lopez de Ayala of Pedro would be unprofitable and unnecessary; but such treachery as the murder of the Aragonese Prince, of Abu Said, the Moorish King of Granada,* of his own brothers, and the principal Castilian nobles and most faithful servants, such as Gutier Fernandez, his ambassador in Rome, and the Jew treasurer, Samuel Levi, naturally raised up against the King of Castile a powerful confederation of enemies both at home and abroad, and he soon found himself at war with Aragon, with whose king the king's eldest half-brother, Henry of Trastamara, had taken refuge with many Castilian knights. When, after a destructive but indecisive struggle, a peace was patched up by the Pope, Henry of Trastamara, knowing the tactics usually pursued in such cases, fled for a time to France,† and there set about organizing the invasion of Castile.

The peace of Bretigny had, in 1360, left a large number of unemployed soldiers in France, both French and English, who had been formed into bands and were committing outrages on all sides. They were ready to undertake any adventure for which they were paid, and with the good will of the King of France were enlisted by Henry of Trastamara to aid him in his struggle with his brother. These *White Companies*, commanded by the celebrated Breton soldier of fortune Bertrand du Guesclin, were joined by much of the chivalry of France for the sake of the deeply wronged Blanche, and not a few English gentlemen marched with their adventurous countrymen to punish the King of Castile

* The murder of Abu Said was especially atrocious, as its sole object seems to have been the plunder of the Moor's splendid jewels.

† As has already been mentioned, one of the secret articles of the treaty between Pedro the Cruel of Castile and Pedro IV (the Ceremonious) of Aragon was that Henry of Trastamara should be murdered in Aragon.

and loot his ill-gotten treasure. Henry of Trastamara and his companion Du Guesclin were received with open arms by Pedro IV of Aragon, and, surrounded by his brothers, by princes of the house of Bourbon, and the best chivalry of Castile and Aragon, the pretender marched into his brother's kingdom through Catalonia amid the joy of rich and poor, and, overcoming the slight resistance offered, was proclaimed King at Calahorra (1366).

Pedro with his forces had advanced as far as Burgos, but the news that all the realm was against him, and Henry's army, irresistible, struck him with terror, and he deserted his troops and fled, first to Toledo, thence to Santiago, where he murdered the archbishop out of greed and wantonness, and then by ship to Gascony, where Edward the Black Prince held his court for his father, King Edward III of England.

In the meanwhile Henry of Trastamara passed onward through his new kingdom in triumph, and was crowned at Burgos with all the state and rejoicing that Castile could afford. Those who had helped him were splendidly rewarded. Hereditary titles of nobility, until then almost unknown in Castile, were distributed freely,* and thenceforward the kings of Castile were in possession of another powerful means of winning over or dividing the nobles by the granting of titular rank.

But Henry II of Castile and Leon was not destined to rule undisturbed. For reasons which have already been stated, while Aragon usually had interests antagonistic to France, there was nothing permanently to separate the latter country and Castile. It had therefore always been the policy of English kings to maintain friendly relations with Castile,

* The Counts of Castile, of Barcelona, and of Portugal had long ago become kings. The nobles (*ricos homes*) bore no other title than baron in Castile, and at the time of his accession Henry of Trastamara was the only count.

and thus to some extent to detach her from French friendship.* This was especially the case at the present moment, because not only was the great war between France and England still a recent memory, but France had thrown all her influence in the scale against Pedro. The latter consequently was received amiably by the Black Prince at Bordeaux, and, after consultation with the king in England, a treaty was signed at Libourne (September, 1366), by which the Black Prince lent Pedro 600,000 gold florins, to be paid within the year, and undertook to restore Pedro to his throne in return for the lordship of Biscay; while the false Charles the Bad of Navarre, who had already been bribed by Henry in return for a large sum of money undertook to allow passage for the invaders through his kingdom by the pass of Roncesvalles.

The English adventurers with Henry of Trastamara were recalled, including Sir Hugh Calverly, whom the King of Castile had made Count of Carrion, and were led with the rest of his forces by their own Prince Edward and his brother, John of Lancaster, against the usurper of the murderer's throne. At the first encounter, near Vitoria, the English were driven back to Navarre; but subsequently, near Najera, they completely defeated Henry of Trastamara and his men. The victory was a great one for English arms, though fought in an evil cause, for the Black Prince was one of the most brilliant soldiers in Europe, and his host of knights and gentlemen, the flower of English chivalry, and a large army of seasoned infantry, were far more than a match for the foreign mercenaries and half-armed peasants who fought for the bastard King Henry of Castile.

Henry fled to friendly Aragon; his brother Sancho, Bertrand du Guesclin, the Grand Masters of Santiago and Calatrava, and the principal French commanders fell into the

* There was, moreover, already a considerable trade between Castile and England in wine and wool.

hands of the victors, and Pedro the Cruel was once more King of Castile. Pedro was all for slaughter; and the chivalrous Black Prince was soon disgusted with his murderous ally. The Englishman had exacted an oath from Pedro that there should be no slaughter of prisoners, and when he found that the promise was violated, a stern warning was given to the royal butcher.

But once safe within the walls of his city of Burgos, with the bulk of his ally's army encamped outside, Pedro gave free rein to his lust for blood. The English prince protested, remonstrated, and threatened in vain. Pedro cheated him out of the stipulated reward, endeavoured to poison him, in which he nearly succeeded, and then abandoned him and his army without food or resources, flying to his own beloved Seville, and leaving the Englishmen who had restored him to his throne to die of plague and famine or to find their way back, as few of them did, across the savage Pyrenees, to the fair plains of Gascony again (1367), there to meet once more the French foemen in the disastrous war that followed.

In the following year Henry of Trastamara, with a humbler following than before, but still accompanied by Du Guesclin, again crossed Aragon and entered Burgos, to the joy of his subjects, nearly all of whom declared in his favour. Pedro, with only Andalusia and Toledo at his back, was besieged in the castle of Montiel, and endeavoured to enter into a treacherous compact with Du Guesclin to deliver his brother Henry into his hands. The cunning Frenchman feigned to agree, and Pedro proceeded in disguise to Du Guesclin's tent, where he found himself face to face with Henry of Trastamara, whose mother and brothers he had murdered. Once more brother killed brother, but this time Pedro himself was the victim, and he fell pierced to his black heart by the dagger of Henry the Bastard, thenceforward Henry II of Castile (1369).

The personal character of Pedro the Cruel is a question

of secondary importance to our present purpose, and we may leave the positive and relative degree of his criminality to be discussed by others. But it is certain that had he been allowed to continue the policy of Alfonso XI, by which the territorial nobility were being gradually divested of their power, much of the turbulence and bloodshed of the next hundred years would have been avoided. The revolt of Henry of Trastamara against his brother was not so much an attempt of a bold bastard to wrest the crown from its legitimate wearer, as a rising of territorial barons to reassert their overbearing privileges, the reason for their possession of which had now passed away.

Like the various revolting infantes in the previous reigns, Henry himself was merely a figurehead of the territorial lords, and but for the disgust of the Castilian towns at Pedro's conduct, the pretender would have been no more successful than his predecessors had been. When, therefore, Henry II won the victory, it was a gain for the territorial nobles; and the lavish grants * made by the new king, together with the power accruing to the lords by the fact of Henry being their creature, made it necessary for the constitutional struggle to be recommenced and fought over again.

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A. D. 1300 TO A. D. 1400

*Summary of progress during this period*

The national development that followed had proceeded on distinct lines in Aragon and Castile. In the former realm the defeat of the nobles at the battle of Epila had finally prevented

* His liberality frightened the nobles themselves, and they presented a remonstrance to him (Frias Archives Catalogue 34, No. 1), requesting him not to give away any more crown fiefs or the country would be ruined. Doubtless the remonstrance (which bears no date) was only presented after the principal nobles had been satisfied.

the government from becoming a feudal oligarchy, and the state had now settled down into a triple kingdom with constitutional parliaments, in which the rich and prosperous burgesses of the cities played a great part. The power of the crown in initiating and perfecting legislation was great, but was, like all the rest of the royal prerogatives, strictly limited by law. The most conspicuous phenomenon to be remarked in Aragon now and subsequently was the perfection of its judicial system and the independence of the judicature from the executive.

In Castile the principal point to be noted is the undue growth of the power of the towns and their federation to resist the political claims and the social oppression of the noble classes. The struggle between the popular and the privileged classes continued during this and the next century, but already the final defeat of the nobles was foreshadowed by their being ousted from the Cortes, and by the many extraordinary privileges extorted by the towns from the kings. The gradual elimination of the nobility and clergy from the legislature of Castile is a point of constitutional history of great importance. It originated in the greed of the privileged classes in evading taxation, and so making their presence unnecessary for the legal raising of national revenue, but its final result was to enable the kings to destroy the parliamentary power altogether by dealing separately with the two elements, between which no cohesion or co-operation existed.

The period now under review also saw a series of events which were of the most paramount influence in deciding the future fate of Spain, namely, the claims and ambitions established by the King of Aragon upon Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and the consequent growth of the secular rivalry between France and Aragon. As will be seen later, the whole subsequent march of Spanish history depended upon this event.

Commerce and industry had followed the same lines upon which they had started in the previous century. Both had prospered exceedingly under the influence of the Mozarabes and Mudejares who had been absorbed into Christian Spain. The influence of the same peoples and traditions had now thoroughly permeated the artistic productions of Spain, particularly in the south and east, where it was supreme in architecture, ornament, and furniture, and has left traces upon taste to the present day. Parallel with this influence was that which advanced from France and Italy, especially in the matter of church architecture, which at the end of the period now under review was assuming the ma-

jestic and dignified form of ogival Gothic evolved by Spain from the French productions.

Education and literature had kept pace with the increasing wealth of the country. The Christian courts vied with each other in practising and patronizing polite letters. The universities of Spain now rivalled those of Italy and France; Castilian literature was full fledged, and had already given some masterpieces to the world.

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*Summary of what Spain did for the world in this period*

The products of her soil and the industry and taste of the semi-Moorish workmen were sent abroad in ever-increasing quantities. The beautiful processional crosses and church plate, the gold-embroidered vestments and the damascened arms and armour were as well known in England, France, and Italy as in Spain itself, and profoundly influenced European taste until the artistic Renaissance came to sweep away the last vestiges of the later Romanesque forms, upon which the Frankish, Byzantine, and Moorish fancies had been grafted.

Spain's permanent services to the world during this period, however, were still intellectual rather than material. The tales of Count Lucanor, by Don Juan Manuel, provided Boccaccio and Chaucer with models, and are a classic still in every civilized tongue. The Archpriest of Hita was the forerunner of Rabelais, Lopez de Ayala the model for future historians, and the writings of a Spanish Arab translated by Alfonso XI gave to Chaucer the material for his Dictes and Sayings of Philosophers.

# CHAPTER VII

## PROGRESS AND DECADENCE IN MEDIÆVAL SPAIN

Industrial Spain in the fourteenth century—The wool trade and the Mesta—Silks and velvets—Metal work—Moorish influence on design—Introduction of foreign goods—Gothic architecture in Spain—The architecture of the Mudejares—Education and the universities—Castilian literature in the fourteenth century—Organization of the government and judicature—Claims of John of Gaunt to the Castilian crown—Battle of Aljubarrota—The Castilian nobles and the towns—The decay of municipal independence—The "good" Regent Fernando of Castile—His election to the throne of Aragon—Alvaro de Luna and Juan II of Castile—Social and literary condition of Spain under Juan II—The Italian influence—The literature of knight-errantry—Its influence on the Spanish character.

MORE than a century had passed since the conquest of Andalusia and Valencia from the Moors; and the industry of Spain had in the meanwhile assumed a national character which will allow a brief general survey to be taken of it and of the condition of the people at the end of the fourteenth century. During the earlier centuries of the reconquest the arts of peace among the Christians had almost entirely disappeared, and the manufactures were confined to the coarser articles of necessary use. As we have seen in previous chapters, the incorporation of Moorish and Mozarabic populations into Christian Spain, the increased security, and the general advance of civilization had subsequently given a great impetus to the handicrafts which had been perfected under Moslem rule. Unfortunately, these handicrafts, although

prospering greatly, especially during the fourteenth century, remained almost exclusively in the hands of the *Moriscos* and *new Christians* * who had originally practised them, and they therefore became regarded as the special appanage of people upon whom the growing religious influence of an intolerant priesthood caused the old Christians to look with scorn and hatred. From contempt for the worker to contempt for the work was an easy transition, and the Spanish *old Christians*, whose ancestors for ages had lived in a state of war, began to despise industries that were mainly carried on by suspected people, living apart in their own *aljama* quarters, oppressed by all sorts of restrictions and disabilities from which Spaniards of pure blood were free. The same thing, especially in Valencia and Catalonia, happened with commerce and banking, almost entirely in the hands of the Jews, living, like the Moriscos, in their own quarters, and treated with contumely, although in individual cases made use of and trusted by kings and nobles who needed their aid.

From the earliest times the wool of Spain had been the finest in the world. The unsettled condition of the country during nearly the whole of its history, and probably also the bent of its primitive inhabitants, had always made Spain a pastoral rather than an agricultural country. On the central table-land wheat of exceptionally good quality was—and is—grown, but the many obstacles to its transport limited the production to local needs. The Moors had brought with them the perfect scientific system of small culture and irrigation which made Valencia, Murcia, and parts of Andalusia smiling gardens, and brought riches to the patient, laborious cultivators; † but that industry remained with them alone, while the

* *New Christians* were those Moriscos or people of mixed blood who professed Christianity.

† The Moors of Andalusia and Valencia acclimatized and cultivated a large number of semitropical fruits and plants hitherto little known in Europe, and studied arboriculture and horticulture not only practically but scientifically. The famous work on the subject by

pure Spaniard continued, as he had always been, an agriculturist by necessity and a shepherd by choice, when he was not a soldier. Vast herds of stunted, ill-looking, but splendidly fleeced sheep belonged to the nobles and ecclesiastical lords, and quite early in the period of reconquest, when these classes were all-powerful, a confederacy of sheep owners was formed, which by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had developed into a corporation of immense wealth. This was called the Mesta, which practically monopolized the wool trade in Spain for centuries. It had its representative administration, its common fund, and later its own special tribunal. The mountainous districts of Soria and Segovia were the summer centre of the vast flocks of sheep, numbering in the aggregate, at the time of which we are now writing, 4,000,000 or 5,000,000 head; but with the approach of winter they descended into the plains of Estremadura and the lower slopes of the Sierra Morena, and ranged over great tracts of country. The corporation was powerful enough to impose its own terms upon the owners of land, and the whole of Estremadura was thus doomed to be a pasture at a low rent for the flocks owned by persons belonging to other provinces, and it became poor and depopulated, while a broad band or track from north to south remained unproductive in consequence of the annual passage of millions of sheep. The fleeces were extremely fine, often weighing 12 pounds per animal, and the wool was sought after throughout the world,* especially by Flemish and French cloth workers. But withal the cloth manufactured

Abu Zacaria al-Awan was the foundation of such books, and of the application of science to gardening. It was mainly derived from Chaldean, Greek, and Carthaginian manuscripts now lost. Curiously, Spain had produced under the Romans a famous book on agriculture by Columella; but for scientific knowledge it cannot be compared to the Treatise on Agriculture by Abu Zacaria.

* Even in the ninth century Spanish wool was famous in Persia and the East; and as we have remarked in the first chapter of this book, so early as the time of the Phœnicians it was considered the finest in the world.

in Spain continued to be of the coarsest character until after the marriage of Catharine of Lancaster to the heir of Castile (1388), when finer cloths were manufactured and improved methods adopted. Up to that time the cloths used by people of the higher class came from Bruges, from London, and from Montpellier.*

During the Arab domination of the south, Jaen, Granada, Valencia, and Seville had been great centres of silk culture and manufacture,† and in the twelfth century a very flourishing trade in silks, velvets, and brocades was carried on with Constantinople and the East generally. Even in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, of which we are now writing, the silks of Valencia and the bullion embroideries and gold and silver tissues of Cordova and Toledo were unsurpassed in Christendom, though heavily handicapped by the growing burdens placed upon craftsmen by labour laws and racial prejudice, and the discouragement of luxury by sumptuary regulations.

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* James II of Aragon—the sovereign, be it recollected, of Barcelona, where there were at the time hundreds of looms at work making coarse duffel—wished to send a present to the Sultan of Egypt (1314 and 1322), and chose green cloths from Chalons and red cloths from Rheims and Douai, but sent no Spanish stuff; while the steward's accounts of Fernando V show that all his household were dressed in garments of imported stuffs. The great centre for the sale of wool was at Medina del Campo, and the cloth factories of Segovia and Toledo were the most active and celebrated in Castile, while those of Barcelona were the principal in the east of Spain. It is asserted that the improvement in the qualities of the Spanish cloth after the coming of the Plantagenet princess to Spain was partly owing to the fact that some herds of English sheep formed part of her dowry, and the blending of the staples enabled a better cloth to be made. The Flemish weavers mixed Spanish with English wool for their best textures.

† Edrisi says that in the kingdom of Jaen in the thirteenth century there were 3,000 villages where the cultivation of the silkworm was carried on, while in Seville there were 6,000 silk looms, and Almeria had 800 looms for the manufacture of fancy brocades, etc. We are also told that a minister of Pedro the Cruel owned 125 chests of silk and gold tissue.

The working of gold and silver for church ornaments and personal adornment was also very actively pursued at this period in Spain before the influence of the Renaissance was felt. The magnificent processional crosses in most Spanish cathedrals,* and the larger pieces, such as the fine silver throne of King Martin the Humane of Aragon, in Barcelona cathedral, are in most cases of hammered or chiselled repoussé plates mounted on wood, and sometimes enriched with precious stones in bosses or with vitreous enamel inlays; but they exhibit no distinctive features apart from those seen in the productions of other European nations of the same period, the influence being still French-Romanesque with Byzantine traditions. The production of artistic ironwork was also carried to great perfection, especially in the choir screens of the cathedrals, which at this period were rising in most of the larger towns of Spain. There was a great exportation of pig iron to Flanders and England, iron, wool, leather, and wine being the principal exports in exchange for the fine cloths needed by the Spanish upper classes. In all sorts of metal work, as in architecture, at this period there was a not infrequent blending of the newer Moorish (or Alhambresque) style, though this is mostly seen in places where the Mudejares were in greater number, as in Toledo, where the beautiful gates of the cathedral are made of wood covered with bronze plates with geometrical designs and Arabic inscriptions, and dated 1337, and in Cordova and Seville, where the "Pardon doors" are of similar construction and of the same period. The same peculiarities are noticeable in the arms, which were now made nearly all over Spain, the Moorish influence in the design being more conspicuous in those produced in Toledo and the south than in those of Bilboa and Calatayud; but the fine damascened helmets of Granada and the leather roundels and long shields with splendid metal

* There is a good specimen processional cross of this period in the South Kensington Museum (No. 514, 1873).

bosses, made by the Moors, were prized by Christian Spaniards as much as by Moslems. In furniture, too, the same influences prevailed. The finer works, such as the choir stalls and altars of the cathedrals, show at first distinctly French and Flemish influence, but by the early fifteenth century they had assumed greater freedom of line and fertility of fancy in the hands of Spanish workmen; and in many cases, where the new Christians were numerous, the graceful geometrical convolutions of Moorish art are to be found in the woodwork even of Christian cathedrals.* Although the important manufacture of the lustred pottery of the Arabs continued without considerable change of style in most parts of Spain, the productions of this ware in Malaga, Valencia, and Granada in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries reached a perfection previously unknown, and were in request all over the Peninsula; † and the azulejos, or Moorish tiles, used almost universally in Spain for decoration of houses, which at first were made in small sections for mosaic work, each piece being of a separate colour to form the pattern, were now produced in single tiles with the pattern painted on them. They must have been manufactured in enormous numbers, particularly in Seville, as they are still quite plentiful in all parts of Spain, and until the introduction of Italian Renaissance taste in the sixteenth century retained the pure early geometric Moorish style in their decoration.

From these particulars it may be deduced that during the period now under review the Moorish handicrafts continued in the same hands as before, but with somewhat less activity and prosperity than in the previous century, and with

* As, for instance, on the organ case in the chapel founded by the Archbishop of Seville in Salamanca cathedral in 1374.

† As, for instance, the lovely vase at the Alhambra, the fine ivy vase at South Kensington Museum, and some of the plateaus in Mr. Salting's collection in the same museum, exhibiting the gradual transition from the pure Oriental taste to the broader influences introduced by Italian models.

but little change in methods or styles. The falling off in the production of textiles, particularly, was unquestionably due to a large extent to the preference of the richer classes for the productions of France, Italy, and Flanders, and the growing prejudice against everything bearing the impress of Islam. As we shall see later, the constant cry of Spaniards from this time (the end of the fourteenth century) forward was that Spain was being drained of precious metal and raw material in order to pay for the expensive manufactured goods imported from abroad; and the unwise edicts issued to prevent this completed the ruin of Spanish industry.

But if most of the arts and industries of Spain in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were still living upon the impetus given to them by the conquests of Toledo and Andalusia, there was at least one art in which Spaniards at this period outstripped all rivals. Long struggle with an enemy of alien faith, the vivid sense of the supernatural, and the constant incitement of the churchmen during the reconquest had made the religion of the Spaniards somewhat different from that of Christians elsewhere—fiercer, more militant, more fervid and aggressive; while the natural exuberance of the race and its redundancy of expression caused all religious manifestations to assume an exalted and exaggerated form. We have already remarked that in the twelfth century the earlier signs of the so-called Gothic architecture had begun to creep into the round-arched massive cathedrals of the Romanesque style, which the Spaniards had adapted from France. By the end of the fourteenth century the genius of the people had evolved what was practically a separate adaptation of Gothic; and during this period and shortly afterward, the crowning glory of Spain, her daring and noble ogival churches, were mainly designed. Clearer than in their literature, more distinctly even than in their institutions, the special characteristics of the Spanish people are set forth in imperishable stone in the great architectural monuments pro-

duced in this early stage of their evolution as a nation. Profound veneration allied to exaggerated self-respect, proud reticence easily aroused to florid vociferation, vivid imagination overleaping material limitations—these, and much more, may be seen in the severe spaces and massive walls, pierced by doorways and windows overloaded with ornament; in buildings whose vast breadth of span are still the wonder and despair of all architects, and whose bold springing arches from magnificent clustered columns are surrounded on all sides by an ornamentation so luxuriant, so varied, so overflowing with detail, as to seem the work of fairies rather than men;* in cloisters whose staid and stern background is veiled by a beautiful lacework of stone, the exquisite tracery of which, growing ever more florid, conceals its own massive strength.

The same phenomenon which we have observed in the degradation of Latin literature by Iberian influence was subsequently demonstrated in the decadence of Gothic architecture under the same spirit. The exquisite gravity of the main plan, contrasting with the graceful adornment, was at a later period lost and substituted by ornament that ran riot and shook itself free from all control.† Forms became vicious, fancy degenerated to nightmare; and then, under Philip II, a

* The splendid cathedral at Lerida was commenced in 1203 and finished two hundred years afterward, and the cloisters are of special magnificence. Toledo, one of the largest of Christian cathedrals (90,000 square feet), is of the same period, and is a good specimen of the contrast mentioned above, the outside being comparatively severe, but the decoration of the interior rich and beautiful beyond compare. The comparative width of many Spanish Gothic cathedrals and the usual slated central dome or *cimborio* are their most remarkable characteristics. Gerona cathedral, for instance, is 73 feet wide to 160 long, with a clear span of nave of 56 feet, while Manresa cathedral is 200 feet long, only double its width. The usual proportion of width to length in English Gothic cathedrals is about one eighth.

† Specimens of this lack of restraint may be seen in nearly all the additions and edifices later than the middle of the fifteenth century, such as the tombs in the Cartuja de Miraflores, near Burgos, and the cloisters of San Juan de los Reyes, at Toledo.

reaction set in and Juan de Herrera reintroduced the Romanesque style, which in its Spanish form has remained the national architecture to the present day. How far Jewish and Arab skill aided in the erection of the sublime Spanish cathedrals of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it is difficult to say. In those of the north and centre of Spain, such as Burgos, Leon, and supreme Toledo, there are but very slight visible traces of such aid; and yet, putting aside French assistance, which, especially in Catalonia, was no doubt available, it is certain that the men of Spanish birth who possessed the greatest amount of scientific knowledge at the time were those of Jewish and Arab descent; and it is a fair presumption that even cathedrals like that of Toledo,* which Mr. Street called "a grand protest against Mahometan architecture," owed some of their beauty and solidity to the Jews, Mozarabes, and Mudejares, who at the time of their erection were practically the only skilled craftsmen in the cities.†

However this may be in the case of the churches of north and central Spain, a most interesting development of architecture took place in the parts of the country which had been most recently reconquered, and even in some cases as far north as Aragon. This was, so to speak, the Christianization of the Moorish building traditions by the Mudejares, and the evolution of a new style, of which many specimens may still be seen, such as the beautiful tower of the Giralda at Seville, the Alcazar and Casa de Pilatos in the same city, the famous city gate of Toledo, and the Mendoza palace at Guadalajara. This, too, was the period when purely Spanish-Moorish architecture had finally thrown off its Byzantine stiffness, and had reached its highest point of spontaneity and

* The first stone was laid in 1227 by that greatest of all church-building monarchs, Saint Fernando.

† In support of this it may be mentioned that even so late as 1504, when the citizens of Zaragoza wished to build their lofty and beautiful campanile, there were associated with the Spanish master of the works a Jew named Ince de Galli and the Moor Ezmel Ballabar.

loveliness in the Alhambra at Granada. We may therefore claim that in architectural perfection, at least, Spain from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the fifteenth centuries equalled, if she did not surpass, all the nations of the earth.

During the same period of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries vast strides were made also in the matter of lay education in Spain. Culture had become a courtly fashion. Alfonso X of Castile, as we have seen, was a better *littérateur* than a king, but even Jaime the Conqueror of Aragon must needs write his own chronicles; and the courts of both countries for a century afterward were flooded by writers of verse in imitation of the Provençal models, and by princes and courtiers who sought fame as prose writers and historians. In these circumstances it is evident that some sort of education beyond the preparation of candidates for the priesthood was needed. It is true that in the various cathedral schools instruction was given in secular learning to the sons of great personages, especially in Palencia, which enjoyed the special protection of the Castilian kings; but neither in Castile nor Aragon was any regular provision made for systematic lay education until Alfonso VIII, late in the twelfth century, founded the " general school " of Palencia (a university in 1212) and brought from France and Italy teachers of eminence. Alfonso IX (of Leon) a few years afterward promoted the formation of a school with lay professors at Salamanca, which Saint Fernando in the middle of the thirteenth century (1242) splendidly endowed as a University, and transferred thither the school of Palencia. His son, Alfonso the Learned, continued his patronage to Salamanca and founded Seville University (1252), and one Pope vied with another in pleasing successive kings of Castile by granting bulls and privileges to masters and students, which by the end of the century made Salamanca at least a rival of Paris, Bologna, and Oxford. Within twenty years of this both Alcalá (1293) and Valladolid (1304) were endowed and raised

to the status of high schools; and the highborn youth of Spain, seized with a perfect craze for literature, crowded into the schools, it may be suspected more with a wish to gain polish in polite letters than to study the abstract sciences, the Hebrew, Greek, mathematics, geometry, and astrology, for the teaching of which there were professors. In Aragon, naturally, the tendency was as strong, if not stronger, than Castile, because the influence of French culture was there more immediately felt. The court of Aragon, even under the fighting Jaime, was a literary one, and under his successors it became a romantic home of poesy, the establishment of the Universities of Palma, Majorca (1280), Valencia (1245), and Lerida (1300), to be followed in the next two centuries by Barcelona, Gerona, Huesca, and Zaragoza, proving that in the pursuit of letters Aragon was no whit behind Castile.

Spanish literature in Castile was indeed now fully fledged, and was taking a course of its own, blending the Provençal traditions, with which it was so enamoured, with traces of the sententious style which the Arabs and Jews had continued from earlier models. Translations from Oriental essays and fables like Kalila and Dimna and Engaños de Mujeres were made as a courtly pastime by Alfonso X and his brother Fadrique (1253). Sancho IV, his son, ordered, or patronized, the translation into Spanish of an encyclopedia of general knowledge (El Lucidario), and the collections of sentences from Isak al Ibadi and from Abdul Wafā Mubashir ben Fatik, which provided Caxton with material for his Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers. The general tendency of Castilian letters in the fourteenth century was toward didactic verse and rhymed philosophy, like the Vida de San Ildefonso, the Proverbios, en Rimo, de Salomon, and the curious Mudejar poem of Yusuf, written in Castilian but in Arabic characters,* which, although directly Oriental in its

* This Aljamiado writing was frequently used by the Moors living in Christian Spain.

origin, was obviously founded, so far as regarded the form, on models originally Provençal. But there was at least one literary genius of Spanish birth in the fourteenth century who was able so to transmute his old models as to form a style of his own. The merry, dissolute priest, a Spanish Rabelais, Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita, like Saint Paul and Cervantes, "in prisons oft," lashed his contemporary clerics high and low, himself included, with a coarse satire that must have seemed to them worse than sacrilege. Like yet more famous poets, he took his material, Arab and French, where he found it, but he gilded whatever he used with his mordant humour and overflowing gay exuberance. A true countryman of Martial was this, and the countryman, too, of Mendoza and Mateo Aleman. The types he satirized—the boasting famished noble, the hypocritical procuress, the tricky servant, and the lascivious priest—were as true to Spanish life in the archpriest's verse as they were in Lazarillo de Tormes and Guzman de Alfarache hundreds of years afterward. A far more famous literary name, at least to foreign readers, is that of the Castilian prince Don Juan Manuel, a nephew of Alfonso the Learned (1282–1347), whose tales of Count Lucanor, a series of 49 didactic apologues, somewhat after the fashion of part of the Arabian Nights, which served Boccaccio and Chaucer also as a model, have been translated into every civilized language. These stories, each of which has its moral application, are taken in many cases from Spanish life of the period, and are triumphs of dramatic narration, as well as a treasure of information as to the manners of the time. Don Juan Manuel, to whose evil political career we have already referred, wrote other books in plenty—chronicles, books of chivalry, of war, of the chase, exhortations, on the art of governing,* and much else; but as an author he lives by the tales of Count Lucanor, the first appearance in Spanish

* El Libro de los Estados, in which a story is used as a vehicle for conveying the author's opinions on religion, politics, and ethics.

of the short story, adapted from the traditions of the far East to the taste and language of modern Europe. Alfonso XI, too, if not an author himself, which is asserted, but doubtful, was, like his guardian, a lover of letters and the inspirer of the Rhymed Chronicle called by his name; and the court of Pedro the Cruel could boast of a famous Jew poet and philosopher Rabbi Sem Tob, who wrote in Castilian verse endless moral proverbs, mainly derived from Arab and Jewish sources, but dignified in tone and novel in the form of presentation.

The famous historian and courtier also, Pedro Lopez de Ayala, was the favourite of Pedro the Cruel, whose name he has handed down to eternal infamy. A faithless servant, a type of the shifty noble of the day, he deserted each master in succession as his fortune waned. He was on the wrong side at the battle of Najera (1367) and was captured by the Black Prince, being carried prisoner, we are told, to England—or, as is more probable, to Gascony—and at the great battle of Aljubarrota, in which Juan II of Castile was signally defeated by the Portuguese (1385), Lopez de Ayala was again made prisoner and kept in grievous durance in an iron cage for many months. This man, of vast and varied experience, of noble birth and exalted position, delighted, like the Prince Don Juan Manuel, in putting down in black and white records of what he had seen and learned in his long life journey. He is best known by his Chronicle of the Kings under whom he served; but though his historical style carries with it greater conviction than that of his predecessors and contemporaries, it lacks the lightness of heart and the touch of humour with which Froissart describes some of the scenes in which Lopez de Ayala also took part. It is, however, in the Rimado de Palacio, a long poem written in his old age, that Lopez de Ayala shows his best gifts—a powerful social satire, which anathematizes unmercifully every vice and folly of the age in which he lived. With a self-revelation which

bears the impress of sincerity, he, like the jolly Archpriest of Hita, lashes his own weaknesses as severely as he does those of his fellows, and the conviction forced upon the modern reader of Palace Rhymes is that the fourteenth-century Castilian had nothing to learn in the way of wickedness from his countryman of the twentieth. Other books, and many translations, were written by the Chancellor Lopez de Ayala, but he is remembered only for a history which fixes for ever his master, King Pedro of Castile, as an atrocious monster, and a poem which brands the society among which he lived as utterly vicious and contemptible.

This, briefly, was the state of affairs in Castile and Leon when, in 1369, Henry of Trastamara, the bastard son of Alfonso XI, ascended the throne over the murdered body of his half-brother, Pedro the Cruel. The new king was confronted with a host of difficulties. He had to satisfy the nobles who had placed him on the throne, but he dared not alienate the towns, several of which still stood faithful to the memory of the legitimate king. The nobles themselves, moreover, were split up into antagonistic, self-seeking factions; and, above all, Portugal, Navarre, Aragon, and England were opposed to the usurper. Fernando of Portugal was a great-grandson of Sancho the Ferocious of Castile, and claimed the crown, while Constanza and Isabel, the two daughters of Pedro the Cruel, were married to the two English princes, John of Gaunt and Edward, Earl of Cambridge—afterward Duke of York—the elder of whom also asserted his right to the throne of Castile.

In these circumstances it was necessary, above all things, for Henry II to gain friends after he had punished the King of Portugal and the Moors of Granada for their respective aggressions on Spanish soil. The tendency of his legislation in the first two Cortes at Toro after his accession (1369 and 1371) was therefore of a character to gain the confidence of

the towns.* The robbers and malefactors, high or low, who made the roads unsafe were to be severely punished, and a more stringent statute of labourers than ever was decreed, in which not only were wages and hours of work defined, but the prices fixed for all the common articles of consumption. But what was of far greater importance than all else was the complete reorganization of the legal procedure which was adopted by these Cortes.

It has already been explained that the primary jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, with the exception of cases concerning the clergy, was in the hands of the municipalities and the feudal possessors of great tributary fiefs (honores) respectively; but in every case a final appeal had lain to the sovereign. For this purpose successive kings had always, from later Gothic times, attached to their court certain officers who might advise them on legal points. These officers, as in other countries, became in time a sort of tribunal, whose decisions were confirmed by the king; and by the code of Alfonso the Learned (1274) this tribunal was regularly constituted. Twenty-three lay court alcaldes were appointed—nine in Castile, six in Estremadura, and eight in Leon. Three of the Castilians and four Leonese were always to accompany and advise the king in turn, and sit every morning from early mass to high mass; and the king himself is enjoined to sit in judgment and to be accessible to all litigants three days a week before breakfast, and to devote the time after breakfast to receiving the nobles who wished to petition or consult him. Alfonso's long absences from the country and the tur-

* One of the most extraordinary concessions given by Henry was that granted in answer to a petition from the Cortes of Burgos in 1367, during his first domination. It was to the effect that representatives of the burgesses chosen by the towns should sit in his *council* with the nobles and prelates who had hitherto composed it. These popular councillors were called *homes buenos* (good men), and consisted of twelve persons—two from Castilian towns, two from Leon, and the same number from the kingdoms of Galicia, Andalusia, Toledo, and Estremadura. This grant was confirmed at Toro in 1369.

bulence of his reign had caused these arrangements to fall into desuetude, and new rules to a somewhat similar effect were made by Fernando IV and Alfonso XI, the latter of whom, in the Cortes of Madrid in 1329, fixed two days a week for business—Monday for governmental affairs and Friday for the hearing appeals and civil and criminal causes, when he should sit, "with his alcaldes, *homes buenos* of the towns, and the council."

But by the "order on the administration of justice" decreed by Henry II in the Cortes of Toro (1371), a regular new code of legal procedure was adopted, the permanent Cancelleria or Audiencia was established as a court of appeal, seven of the judges (*oidores*) being bishops, and in addition to these, eight alcaldes from various divisions of the realm were appointed to accompany the king and advise him on judicial matters in cases of final appeal from the decisions of the high court. The Audiencia thus established entirely took out of the hands of the nobles the judicial power, and in a few years the Audiencia was permanently seated at Valladolid, where it continued until the present century the principal legal tribunal in Castile. At the same time the functions and powers of the primary judges in the towns and in the rural districts were defined, and practically the whole judicial edifice assumed permanent form. It was specially decreed that the administration of justice should not be in the hands of nobles, but of men learned in the law, and in every case the verdict was to be in accordance with the local charter. It was ordered in the same Cortes that all the fortresses in the open country should be dismantled, and not rehabilitated without the king's consent; and this and other similar enactments gave to the chartered towns and middle classes an amount of independence and power greater even than they had ever previously enjoyed.*

* It was at this time that the nobles mainly moved into the towns, building their palaces (*casas solariegas*) in the streets of the towns

Having thus gained the towns to his side, though with some alienation of the noble class, Henry II renewed his war with the Portuguese pretender, whose own nobility had risen against him, and the King of Castile was able to reach the gates of Lisbon, which town he besieged. The Pope, however, patched up a peace by which Sancho, the King of Castile's brother, was to marry Beatrice, the sister of the Portuguese king, while Fadrique, the bastard son of Henry II, was to wed the infant daughter of Fernando of Portugal, and another bastard daughter of Fernando was to marry Alfonso, an illegitimate son of the King of Castile.

No sooner was this complicated peace treaty concluded than Henry was forced to proceed against Charles the Bad of Navarre, who had occupied some of the Castilian cities. This quarrel was also settled by the Pope, and Henry then found himself face to face with Pedro IV of Aragon, who revived the old claim to the suzerainty of Murcia; and as a consequence John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, thought the time propitious to press his wife's rights to the Castilian crown.* But the English expeditionary fleet was defeated and destroyed by the Castilians off Rochelle (1372), and the English claim to Castile for a time was at an end, Henry of Trastamara himself dying a few years afterward (1379), leaving his eldest son, Juan I, as successor to his realms.

During the whole of the reign of Henry and of his successors the turbulent factions of nobles continued. They had become enormously richer by Henry's grants, but their jealousy of each other had thereby increased; and though their quarrels kept the country in a turmoil, the confederations of towns were unquestionably now the greatest power

which had hitherto paid them tribute. From this point also the municipalities began to decline.

* Pedro the Cruel and the Archbishop of Toledo both swore that the former was legally married to Maria de Padilla, and consequently that Constanza, Duchess of Lancaster, was legitimate. But there was only their word for it.

in the state. Some of the disaffected nobles, disappointed at this condition of affairs, offered their support to one or other of the claimants to the throne; and Juan I, at the beginning of his reign, again found himself at war with Portugal. The result was another shuffling of the marriage cards, and Fernando of Portugal's daughter Beatrice, who had been betrothed to the bastard Don Fadrique, was now nominally united to the Infante Enrique of Castile. This arrangement also fell through on the renewal of the war, thanks to the aid given by the Earl of Cambridge to Fernando of Portugal; and when another peace was negotiated by the papal legate, the same Princess Beatrice was married to the child Fernando, son of Juan I. But in a short time the wife of the latter died, and then it was finally settled that the much-betrothed little Princess Beatrice should be married to the King of Castile himself, bringing with her the heirship of the crown of Portugal and the future union of the two countries.

Fernando of Portugal died immediately afterward, and Juan of Castile endeavoured to take possession of Portugal by virtue of his marriage treaty. But there was no love between the Portuguese and the Spaniards; and the nobility of the smaller country, jealous of their independence, rose and murdered those of their number who were supposed to be favourable to Castile, and proclaimed as King of Portugal the Grand Master of the Order of Avis, João, the bastard son of Pedro IV of Portugal, who was supported by England against Castile, while France lent her aid to the latter. Battle alone could decide the question, and the two armies met (August, 1385) on the famous field of Aljubarrota, where with fearful slaughter the Castilians were routed, and the independence of Portugal was safe for two hundred years longer.

The military power of Castile was swept away on the terrible day of Aljubarrota. All the nation was ordered

thenceforward to dress in mourning garb, but in the meanwhile a gallant attempt was made to withstand the most formidable pretender to the crown, who had seized the opportunity of invading Castile. While the Cortes at Valladolid were willingly assuming for the country fresh burdens in the form of levies of armed citizens and money payments, John, Duke of Lancaster, and his wife Constanza, daughter of Pedro the Cruel, were being crowned King and Queen of Castile by Richard II King of England, with all the pomp and splendour that mediæval courts could show. With a great fleet and an army of several thousand Englishmen, John of Gaunt entered Corunna in August, 1386, and supported by many Galician nobles and a Portuguese force sent by João of Avis, Lancaster marched triumphant from Galicia onward into Castile, and it appeared as if nothing could withstand the Englishmen.

But a foe more deadly than the hasty levies of distracted Castile assailed them. The dreaded plague laid them low by thousands, panic and discouragement seized the host, and John of Gaunt was fain to make peace and abandon his hope of being King of Castile, though the marriage of his daughter Catharine with Henry, the heir of Castile,* secured to his descendants the crown he coveted (1387).

The hope of the nobility of Castile of being able to play off a pretender against their king having thus disappeared, they threw off the mask and openly claimed a greater share in the government, to the detriment of the towns. Their political power, however, was gone, and armed revolt was the only course open to them. But the purse strings were in the hands of the Cortes, the great armed force of the towns were at the service of the king against the nobles, and wherever the latter rose they were crushed by the sovereign and

* For the first time Henry and his English wife assumed the title of Prince and Princess of Asturias, which has been borne ever since by the heirs of the Spanish throne.

the middle class in alliance. The representatives of the towns in Cortes, intoxicated with their own power, became ever more exacting. The Cortes of Bibriesca (1387), of Palencia (1388), and Guadalajara (1390) obtained from Juan I concessions which chained the craftsmen still closer to their employer, and at the same time further reduced the nobles in political impotence. A special council of four lawyers, not nobles, but representatives of the towns, were to accompany the king in the exercise of his judicial power; questions arising in nobles' fiefs were to be submitted primarily to the ordinary alcaldes, with appeal to the lord and finally to the king, and many other provisions were made which had the effect of submitting the nobles to the middle classes in judicial affairs, as they had already been submitted in political matters. Juan I gave way on all points, because it was clear that upon the towns alone he could depend; but his death, in 1390, leaving his heir, Henry III, a child of eleven, with the need for a regency, gave to the nobles a chance once more to assert the power of which they had been deprived.

The aristocratic class in Spain had not the cohesion for a common object possessed by the towns; treaties of union between certain families to forward stated ends were common,* but mutual jealousy and greed made general cooperation impossible for any length of time. When, therefore, nine nobles, headed by the Archbishop of Toledo, obtained the regency during the minority of Henry III, it was a signal not only for discontent of many of their own order, but especially of the municipalities, whose power had up to that time remained unchecked. With a prodigality rivalling that of Henry of Trastamara, the regents distributed grants and privileges to nobles in order to win friends; but

* I am indebted to the Duke of Frias for particulars of many such agreements existing in his archives. Some of these treaties are offensive and defensive alliances against the world, others are for special objects.

the towns, thanks to their legislative predominance, once more gained the upper hand. At the age of fourteen, in 1393, Henry III was declared of full age, and the Cortes of Madrid in the same year caused all the privileges and charters granted by previous kings to be confirmed, and the whole of those conceded by the regents (except ecclesiastical grants) to be cancelled. This naturally threw the nobles into a state of revolt; but again, thanks to the support of the towns, the king's forces were able to dominate the disorder, and once more the nobles of Castile were forced to watch and wait for another opportunity.

Henry III, while following the same course as his predecessors in cultivating the middle classes, still further weakened popular municipal independence by extending the practice of taking the primary administration of justice out of the hands of the elective alcaldes of his towns and appointing *regidores*, learned in the law, to townships, to act as magistrates, although probably neither the towns nor the king himself understood at the time that the introduction of the nominative principle into the municipal organization meant the corruption and decay of the commons,* and the development of Spain into a despotism, since the counterbalancing power of the nobles was being simultaneously destroyed by the king and the commons in alliance.

* If the towns did not understand this at the time, they soon afterward discovered it, for in the Cortes of Ocaña in 1422 a petition was adopted requesting that in future all civil and criminal jurisdiction should be vested in the municipalities of the townships, and that the king should not send a regidor except at the request of the towns themselves. This was granted, but under various pretexts the kings continued to send judges to the towns holding charters from the crown, and the petition of the Cortes was renewed twenty years afterward (1442). The practice, however, continued until it became general, and the nomination of the members of the municipality subsequently followed. The towns holding charters from nobles were similarly invaded by their lords, who now usually lived in them, and were often made by the kings hereditary alcaldes and the like. The complete corruption of the representative system followed as a matter of course.

The government of Henry III was popular and successful. Portugal was again taught a lesson that aggression upon a stronger power was dangerous (1398), while Castile, at peace with all the rest of the world, assumed a more important position in European politics than it had thitherto done, owing partly to the relationship with the English court * and partly to the desire of the Pope at Rome to conciliate the principal Spanish power and prevent her from wholly embracing the cause of the Spanish Anti-Pope at Avignon, Benedict XIII (Pedro de Luna). The Canary Islands, too, were now first acknowledged as a fief of Castile by the adventurers who had taken them, and this gave to the kingdom its first possession beyond the sea and a valuable foothold for expansion toward the unknown south. The expansion toward the east was, as we have seen, the special policy of Aragon; but at least Castile in this reign sent forth embassies to the farthest Orient, through Persia to Samarcand, to salute the victorious Tamerlane,† and kept up active diplomatic intercourse with other lands. When the prospects of the country under Henry III looked brightest, the young king died at the age of twenty-seven, leaving a child of two, Juan II, to succeed him, and once more Castile and Leon were exposed to the dangers of a long minority (1406).

But this time, at least, she was fortunate in her regents—the queen dowager, Catharine of Lancaster, and the king's uncle Fernando, one of the noblest personages of Spanish history. True to their usual tactics, the various factions of nobles endeavoured to arouse the jealousy of the regents, and Catharine of Lancaster was inclined to listen to the whispered calumny that her brother-in-law aimed at the crown;

* The Queen of Henry III, it will be recollected, was Catharine of Lancaster.

† A curious account of this embassy will be found in English, published by the Hakluyt Society. It was written by one of the envoys, Gonzales de Clavijo.

but Fernando's transparent honesty and loyalty disarmed even her, and for six years Castile was happy, tranquil, and prosperous, Fernando governing the south and conquering a portion of the kingdom of Granada for his nephew, while Catharine ruled the northern provinces wisely and prudently.

When at length, in 1412, the "Good" Regent Fernando was called to accept the vacant throne of Aragon, Castile promptly fell a victim again to the greed, the jealousy, and the folly of her rulers. While Fernando lived, even though far away in Aragon, his authority and wisdom prevented Castile from lapsing into anarchy; but he died in 1416, and Catharine of Lancaster lived less than two years afterward, and then the struggle among the nobles for the regency commenced. The towns in Cortes (1419) endeavoured to put an end to the contest by declaring the king of age, although he was only fourteen; but Juan II was weak, self-indulgent, and impolitic, and was soon enmeshed in the nets spread for him.

To the dismay of the towns, the nobles imposed upon him a council of 15 prelates and knights, whom he was forced to consult, and soon edicts were issued which placed in peril the privileges of the commons. But out of the crowd of showy and quarrelsome nobles who filled the court there emerged one who overshadowed them all, and with the haughty despotism of a Wolsey and the prodigal magnificence of a Gaveston or a Buckingham ruled Castile and the king with a rod of iron for nearly twoscore years. Alvaro de Luna was the bastard son of an Aragonese noble and nephew of the Anti-Pope Benedict XIII, who had been Archbishop of Toledo and had brought his nephew to Castile.

It might have been supposed, under the circumstances, that Alvaro de Luna, when he had entirely gained control of the king, would have aided his order to obtain political predominance; but, like most favourites, his first thought was for himself personally, and his second for the king to whom he owed everything. Never, surely, was a favourite

more avid of titles and grants than this. Seventy towns and strongholds acknowledged him as lord; he was Constable of Castile, Grand Master of Santiago, with dukedoms and earldoms in addition; his revenues were greater than those of his king, and his state surpassed that of any sovereign Castile had ever seen. But if he was insatiable for gain, he had no desire to strengthen or enrich either of the two contending political elements, the nobles or the commons; and the consequence was, that the nobles, at least, nearly unanimously declared against him, and to the day of his tragic death were his bitter, sleepless enemies.

The struggle for the first few years was doubtful; and early in his career Alvaro de Luna was banished the kingdom; but Juan II was lost without his guide and master, and finding that the nobles were more insolent and aggressive after the favourite's departure than before, the latter was summoned to return and reinstated with all honour in his supreme power. The king's cousins of Aragon and Navarre * had to be defeated in the field before the minister was allowed to exercise his office in peace, for with a considerable force they had invaded Castile at the invitation of the jealous nobles, and only in presence of a Castilian army, gathered primarily to fight the Moors of Granada, were the Aragonese and Navarrese infantes forced to accept a truce of five years, during which they agreed to leave Alvaro de Luna alone. After gaining a victory over the Moors, Alvaro again fell a victim to the intrigues of the nobles and went into banishment, only to be recalled with all haste as soon as Juan II could free himself from the influences by which he was surrounded.

On one occasion early in his reign the king was seized in his own castle of Tordesillas by his bold first cousin Henry of Aragon (son of the "Good" Regent) and held prisoner

* Juan II's paternal aunt had married Charles the Noble of Navarre, while his uncle Fernando had been elected King of Aragon.

until he consented to Henry's marriage with Juan's sister, Catharine of Castile. Later, in 1439, it was proposed that Juan II of Castile, the King of Navarre, Henry of Aragon, Henry of Castile, the son and heir of Juan II, who had joined the discontented nobles against his father's favourite, Alvaro de Luna, and the nobles themselves, should meet in Tordesillas and the neighbouring Simancas and peacefully arrange their respective difficulties. But so low was the morality of the time that none of the parties would put themselves in the power of the others without security.

There seems to have been only one man generally respected in the court of Castile, Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, the "Good" Count of Haro, and to his sole keeping were given the two towns where the august assembly was to meet. On his personal pledge that none should come to harm the conference took place,* but the peace was of short duration; for five years afterward a general union of nobles was effected, with the aid of the Aragonese and Navarrese, to dethrone Juan II and elevate his eldest son Henry to the throne. But the forces of the towns supported the king and his favourite, and the rebels were crushed at the battle of Olmedo (1445). Juan II had married in his early boyhood his cousin Maria of Aragon, by whom he had only one son, the rebellious Infante Henry; but as the king was now a widower (1445), Alvaro de Luna, unfortunately for himself, arranged a marriage between Juan II and the Infanta Isabel of Portugal, who after her marriage made common cause with the nobles against the favourite. Alvaro adopted his usual high-handed means of punishing their disorders, but on this occasion the young queen was at the ear of her husband and persuaded him that the minister was

* The Count de Haro wrote an interesting chronicle or account of the meeting, which was published many years afterward. To his lineal descendant the present Count de Haro (Duke of Frias) I am indebted for abstracts of the highly interesting set of documents in his archives relating to the "Seguro de Tordesillas."

usurping the royal authority. Judgment and punishment followed swiftly. The fallen favourite, stripped of his wealth and honours, was executed at Valladolid in 1453,* but the loss of his friend broke the heart of Juan II, who died within a year.

Juan II was unfortunate in living when he did. Peace-loving and amiable, one of the greatest patrons of letters who ever ruled in Spain, he was not without considerable gifts of mind, but utterly unfitted to hold the reins of government in a state during the crucial period of struggle between the aristocratic and democratic principles. Alvaro de Luna, though greedy and intolerant, ruled on the whole not unwisely, with a view to the increase of the power of the crown, and with a strong king to support him the latter might have become supreme over both elements, as his great-grandson did.

But though his long reign was politically a failure, it marks a period of social splendour at court and almost universal luxury such as had never been seen in Spain before; † while Castilian letters, under the patronage of the king, reached one of those culminating points of development

* A vivid description of the scene by a contemporary is given in the Chronicle of Juan II: "Then he set to unfasten the collar of his doublet, and drew around him his long robe of blue camlet with its lining of fox fur; and when my lord was lain upon the scaffold, there came to him the headsman and prayed that he would pardon him: and embracing him, he thrust his danger into his neck, cut off his head, and hanged it upon a hook, where it stayed for nine days."

† The general spread of extravagance in dress had given a fresh impetus to the manufacture of fine stuffs and gold tissues in Spain. Probably at no period was the garb of the people so rich and extravagant as now. A perfect craze for magnificence existed, reaching in different degrees all classes of the community. The Cortes at Palenzuela, held in 1452, deplored to the king the unbridled extravagance of the age, and begged him to re-enforce the ferocious sumptuary laws of Alfonso XI. The king, in reply, admitted that the law was a dead letter, and that the taste for splendour of dress had passed all bounds; but he must have seen that the strict law of one hundred years before was now impossible, and nothing was done. The king says

which appear in Spain at intervals of about two centuries. With the advance of culture and the arts of peace the old rough epics of an earlier time and the didactic verse that followed had become unfashionable; and in the early fifteenth century, both in the courts of Castile and Aragon, lyric poetry and chronicles of romantic incident became the rage. From King Juan II and Alvaro de Luna downward almost every noble and knight wrote verses of some sort; and of the 136 poets who wrote the songs in the Cancionero General (Valencia, 1511), probably more than half belonged to the court of Juan II, while in the Cancionero de Baena the proportion must be still larger. Music, dances, theatrical interludes,* and poetic competitions were the favourite diversions which kept the king amused, while Alvaro de Luna governed according to his will.

Much of the new tendency, both in prose and verse, derived its impetus from the introduction of Italian literature into Spain. Already the writers of the sister peninsula had far outstripped, both in matter and elegance, the more primitive attempts of the Spaniards in the same direction. Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, even Bologna, Milan, and Padua, were richer and in more intimate relation with the world than were the Spanish towns; and the polished work of Guido Caval-

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that silks, gold tissue, and brocades are now ordinary wear, and that bullion trimmings, marten fur, and ermine linings are worn even by persons of low estate. "Actually," he says, "working women now wear garments that are only fit for fine ladies; and people of all ranks sell everything they possess in order to adorn their persons." An Eastern trait that lingered long in Spain.

* In the Chronicle of Juan II we are told that on the occasion of the visit of the king to Soria, in 1436, to meet his sister, the Queen of Aragon, "there were great festivals, and the juglars and mimes entertained the court with music, dances, and comic actions"; and again, when the "Good" Count de Haro entertained, in 1440, the Queen of Navarre and her daughter, the bride of Henry, Prince of Asturias, at his town of Briviesca, "there were dances of knights and gentlemen in the palace, and mummers and bullfights and cane tourneys."

canti, of Dante, of Petrarca, and of Pistoja had to a great extent supplanted in Spain, especially in Castile, the earlier romances of the Provençal troubadours and the sententious didactics of the Jews and Arabs.* Affectation and preciosity marred the attempts of many of the fine gentlemen of the day to write in verse; the pedantry of the matter and the subtlety of the manner crushed out most of the grace of their Italian or Latin models; but when they forgot for a moment their learning and their metrical ingenuity and allowed their pens free play, the old Spanish fecundity of imagination and of word came out in full luxuriance, and sufficient good work of this sort survives in the *cancioneros* and elsewhere to render the reign of Juan II of Castile one of the bright spots in Spanish literary history. The revival first found expression in the person of Enrique de Villena, a prince of the house of Aragon, whose contemporary fame has hardly been indorsed by posterity. He deserves to be remembered, among other reasons, because he was in all probability the first author of a regular drama in Spanish in the form of an allegorical comedy, which, however, has not survived. He also for the first time, in the same language, wrote a so-called treatise on the art of poetry, and especially busied himself in the formation, both in Aragon and Castile, of institutes for the promotion of poetic writings.† These were regular chartered corporations, which held competitions and examinations with great state and solemnity, and Enrique de Villena, in his

* Almost the last specimens of this school which were written in the time of Juan II were the Libro de Enxemplos, a collection of moral short stories by Clemente Sanchez, some of them from Oriental sources, and the Libro de los Gatos, translated from the Narrationes of an English monk, Odo of Cheriton (Fitzmaurice Kelly, History of Spanish Literature).

† He relates that Juan I of Aragon, who endowed the first of these colleges of Troubadours, sent a regular embassy to the King of France begging him to send from Toulouse superintendents to conduct the institution. None of these colleges lasted after the fashionable craze for poetry had passed.

Gaya Ciencia, addressed to the Marquis de Santillana, gives a most interesting account of one of these ceremonies, at which he presided, at Barcelona.

Great, however, as was Don Enrique's fame during his life, his learning—or, as we should say, his pedantry—was so great as to arouse serious suspicion that he had sold himself to the devil. His famous pupil and successor, Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marquis de Santillana, one of the greatest nobles in Spain, was saved from the opprobrium which was attached to overmuch display of learning, although even he at the present day seems insufferably pedantic. His light ballads, pastoral songs, and sonnets, breathing alternately the taste of Italy and Provence, but still with a fragrance of Spain, mark him out as a true poet, though probably the writer looked upon them as ephemeral toys in comparison with his slashing poetic political attack upon Alvaro de Luna after his death,* or with his dramatic dialogues and collections of proverbs.

More Italian still was his contemporary courtier Juan de Mena, the Cordovese, upon whom are generally fathered any

* This is rather a remarkable poem in 53 stanzas, called El Doctrinal de Privados (The Favourite's Doctrinal), and makes the shade of the dead minister recite his own faults and follies and deduce the lessons to be learned from his life and death.

"Abrid, Abrid, vuestros ojos
Gentios mirad a mí.
Quanto vistes: quanto vi,
Fantasmas fueron, y antojos,
Con trabajos, con enojos,
Usurpe tal señoria,
Que si fue, no era mia,
Mas endevidos despojos.

"Casa, Casa, guay de mí!
Campo á campo allegué
Casa agena no dejé
Tanto quise quanto ví
Agora pues ved aqui
Quanto valen mis riquezas
Tierras, villas, fortalezas
Tras quien mi tiempo perdí."

unappropriated works of his time, good or bad, but whose turgid verbosity gives the first sign of the decadence in form which invariably follows a period of activity in Spanish letters.

The writing of chronicles, too, went on apace, and with ever-increasing skill in the presentation of facts, that of Juan II being especially noticeable for its merit as history and its vigorous Castilian, while that of Alvaro de Luna sophistically represents the great minister as he must have appeared only to his most abject flatterer. The writers of these two chronicles are uncertain; but the first historian of his age was unquestionably the nephew of old Lopez de Ayala, Fernan Perez de Guzman, whose Generaciones y Semblanzas furnishes us with vivid, lifelike portraits of the great personages of the court of Henry III of Castile, in which the author lived and wrote.

This age—the fifteenth century—was therefore one of renascence and maturity in Spanish literature. The particular form in which overfloridness and decay were inevitably to come was indicated—though perhaps then unseen—by the circumstances of society at the time. Iberian imagination, as usual when aroused, ran riot. The wars were no longer sacred crusades, in which spectral saints and heavenly crosses led the chosen Spaniards to victory; they were greedy squabbles between rival petty kings, all closely related, or faction fights of quarrelsome nobles, out of which nothing heroic could be drawn. What was left, then, upon which the hungry fancy of the Spaniards could fasten? Moral tales, rhymed proverbs, even heroic romances and warlike epics, had had their day. But nebulous foreign countries, as a background for imaginary personal adventures, were a new field, and upon it Spanish writers and readers cast themselves ravenously. The embassies sent by Henry III to the East and elsewhere have already been mentiond. One of the envoys, Clavijo, told his story with as many marvels as those of Sir John Mandeville or of Marco Polo's wondrous tales. The

Chronicle of Count de Buelna, Don Pero Niño, by his squire, Diaz Gamez, tells a story of brave adventures in far countries partly no doubt true; and the tale of that glorified tournament, in which one knight, Suero de Quiñones, and nine friends challenged the world for his mistress, and ran 600 tilts in a month (July, 1434) must have set aflame the minds of scores of fine gentlemen on the lookout for stirring episode to chronicle. From the recording of vaguely marvellous events which could happen but to few, to inventing them, which might be managed by many, was not a very long step, though it took time. Some Portuguese—João de Lobeira or another—had written at the beginning of the fourteenth century a wild Celtic story of love and adventure—childish and silly it seems to us now, but it was doubtless very real to the unspoiled literary palate of the day. It treats of the loves of shadowy princesses and knights in far-away Britain; but poor as is the story of Amadis of Gaul, it came to Spain at a psychological moment, when the literary imagination required food. The book was translated into Castilian—perhaps many early versions were made, but they have all disappeared—and by the reign of Juan II it passed freely from hand to hand in manuscript, was eagerly read, and familiarity with its incidents and personages became the fashion. Then followed a deluge of imitations, each one more marvellous, more florid, more preposterous than its predecessor, until at last Cervantes swept away the whole brood with the relentless besom of his satire.

The fifteenth century in Spain saw chivalry and knight-errantry raised by the overflowing imagination of the people to a cult. There was nothing peculiarly magnanimous or generous in the character of the race itself, as we have seen by the facts of its history, though the idea of personal exaltation by sacrifice always appealed to it strongly; and the note struck by this new overpowering craze was that of individual distinction and pre-eminence by self-denying devo-

tion to some person or abstraction—the same feeling which led the early Christians of Cordova to insist upon martyrdom, and at a subsequent period filled the hermitages and cloisters of Spain with fierce ascetics who scourged and mortified the flesh and fed the hellish fires of the Inquisition, whose victims, too, were similarly inspired. First had come the rough *cantares de gesta*, the wild tales of Bernardo del Carpio, of the Seven Infantes de Lara, and of the Cid; then the more polished but equally extravagant romances of the French *trouvères*; and now the romantic tales of Celtic origin, wherein gallant gentlemen in far-off lands, by superhuman bravery and self-sacrifice, won the love of peerless damsels, and, what was of more importance still, personal prominence over all other men. Fed by this flood of exuberant rubbish, the nation formed a false standard of honour and conduct, and an exaggerated notion of its own qualities. Knights and ladies —nay, as we have seen, even working people—full of these stories of knight-errantry, strove to dress and live up to the stilted romantic idea. The evil seed fell upon fertile soil, for the Spaniard ever clutched at an excuse for deceiving himself into the belief that he was an individual apart; and thus at the opening of the modern era of the world he became a wool-gathering visionary, thirsting for vague adventures in far countries, but loath to do steady work in his own.

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### A. D. 1400 TO A. D. 1460

*Summary of progress during this period*

With the continued struggle between the privileged and popular elements a further increase had, in appearance, been made in the political power of the Castilian towns. But decadence had already begun. The gradual and insidious encroachment of the power of the kings over the town councils, as described in the text, sapped the strength of the representative institutions at their root, while the perfect frenzy of extravagance in dress and expenditure which had seized upon all classes naturally led to cor-

ruption and laxity in public and private affairs. In the kingdoms of Castile the degeneracy was also now becoming marked in industrial production. The victory over Islam in Spain had abolished a great incentive, and once more the wealth that flowed in from all sides in payment for the beautiful things exported was causing reaction and a relaxation of energy. The new impetus indeed was spending itself. In literature a similar tendency was evident. Although now at the acme of its vogue in the courts, and a fashionable pastime, literature was assuming vicious forms, which led to decadence. The craze for tales of chivalry which dominated Spain at this period is another symptom which in time led to decay both in national character and letters. This period is also remarkable for the attempts of Castile to vie with Aragon in extending foreign relations. The first possession outside the Peninsula belonging to Castile was the Canary Islands, now formally taken possession of. Embassies to Tamerlane and other distant potentates, commercial treaties with England, and so forth, show that Spaniards were already tired of plodding, profitable labour, and were yearning for other excitements now that the centuries of constant wars with the infidel were ended.

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*Summary of what Spain did for the world in this period*

Although Spain during this period was overflowing with verse of all degrees of goodness and badness, she contributed little to the permanent delight of the world, most of the spirit now pervading her literature having been borrowed from Italian originals, which simultaneously reached other nations and were adapted by them according to their respective tastes. The writing of chronicles in Spanish prose, however, distinctly advanced, and its form and style exerted some influence on the production of similar work in other countries. The new element now conspicuous (though not exclusively peculiar to Spain) in such Spanish writing was the introduction of the personal interest in the general chronicle, and this naturally led to the invention of personal adventures and imaginary voyages which subsequently so profoundly influenced the prose literature of Europe. The popularization of the tales of chivalry in Spain at this period, which spread a taste for them throughout Christendom, was another sign of coming decadence, which had a vicious effect not only upon Spain, but upon the world at large.

# CHAPTER VIII

## FROM ANARCHY TO ORDER—UNIFICATION BY THE FAITH

Aragon—Conquest of Naples—Navarre—Henry IV (the Impotent) of Castile—Pacheco, Marquis of Villena—Beltran de la Cueva—The Beltraneja—Deposition of Henry in effigy—Isabel the Catholic of Castile—Her marriage with Fernando of Aragon—Civil war in Castile—Death of Henry—Accession of Isabel—Her strong policy—The Santa Hermandad—The Cortes of Toledo, 1480—Reforms in the administration and judicature—The Inquisition—Reasons for its establishment—Persecution of the Jews—Sympathy of the populace with religious intolerance—Granada—The discovery of America—Some reasons for the cruelty of the first explorers—The objects of Aragon—War with France—Gonsalvo de Cordova—Conquest of Naples—Some fateful marriages—Death of Isabel—Fernando and Philip—Jimenez and the persecution of the Moriscos—Death of Philip—Juana the Mad—Fernando seizes Navarre—Death of Fernando.

THE death in 1409 of Martin of Sicily had left his father, Martin the Humane of Aragon, without a male heir, and at the request of the Cortes that he would appoint a successor before his death, the king took the extraordinary course of summoning the representatives of all the many claimants to plead the cause of their principals. The old king himself, who died in 1410, while the question was pending, was supposed to favour his grandson Fadrique, the legitimized son of Martin of Sicily, who had succeeded his father to the throne of his island, though he had been specially excluded by a deed of legitimization from that of Aragon; but each of the claimants had a section of the people behind him, and the choice was surrounded by danger and difficulty.

The Catalan Cortes took the initiative by considering the merits of the various claims at their meeting in 1410, and subsequently entered into negotiations with the parliaments of Aragon and Valencia, with the result that three delegates were appointed by each of the three Cortes to meet at Caspe in 1412 and choose a king. The six competitors were promptly reduced to two, namely, Don Jaime, a descendant in the male line of the royal house of Aragon and lieutenant general of the realm, a man respected and beloved, and above all an Aragonese, and, second, Don Fernando of Castile, the " Good " Regent, who was a son of the late King Martin's sister.

For three anxious months the nine delegates in secret conclave discussed the weighty question which was to decide the fate of Aragon and of Spain, and at length the great gifts and noble character of Fernando the " Good " Regent prevailed. In the public place of Caspe a great scaffold was erected, and after a sermon from the future Saint Vicente Ferrer, Fernando was proclaimed King of Aragon (June, 1412), to the joy of the vast populace from the three realms who had assembled to do their new sovereign honour.* Only Jaime and Fadrique, of all the claimants, disputed the choice; but Aragon, unlike Castile, was fortunately ruled by a purely parliamentary government, in which all classes of the people were represented, and the revolts against the choice were of short duration. Fernando was crowned with all state and honour in Zaragoza early in 1414, and the

* Fernando's hereditary right was much inferior to that of Jaime and some other of the candidates, but it must not be forgotten that the crown of Aragon had never entirely lost its elective character, though it was understood that the choice of king was confined to the reigning family. The delegates were sworn to choose according to " God, justice, and good conscience," and were not bound simply to examine the legal aspect of the various claims. Although the Salic law was not operative in Aragon, the tendency generally was in favour of the exclusion of the female line, and in this case, as in that of the succession of Petronilla, expediency appears to have been the guide.

unfortunate Fadrique of Sicily, Count de Luna, deprived and a fugitive, died in Castile, while Jaime passed the rest of his life in the fortress of Jativa.

Fernando thus found himself, at the age of thirty-six, King of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, Sicily, and Sardinia, and Count of Barcelona; but, true to the Aragonese ideal, he endeavoured to extend still further the influence of his country in the Mediterranean by negotiating a marriage of his second son, Juan, the Governor of Sicily, with that extraordinary woman, Joan of Naples. She, however, changed her mind, as was her wont, before her young bridegroom came, and she married instead a French suitor, the Count de la Marche, her affianced Aragonese being then wedded to the Princess of Navarre.

Fernando was wise and just, but the outspoken freedom of the three national Cortes with which he had to deal was hard for a Castilian prince to brook, accustomed as he was to the more humble representations of Cortes mainly consisting of burgesses. In Barcelona, in 1416, one of the deputies addressed the king in terms so insolent that Fernando, though he suppressed any manifestation of his anger, left the city in a rage, and died at Igualada a few days afterward. His son Alfonso V, who had married a sister of Juan II of Castile, succeeded to his throne, and still more to the traditional foreign policy of his country; for it was the crowning ambition of Alfonso to be a great Mediterranean potentate, and most of his reign was passed in Italy, while his wife governed as Regent of Aragon, and his three brothers intrigued and fought ceaselessly in the wretched squabbles of the nobles of Castile with their weak king and his favourite; and in the quarrels of the neighbouring Navarre.

While Alfonso V was endeavouring to subdue his island of Corsica (1420), Joan of Naples, who was again in difficulties and had imprisoned her new husband, sent to beg Alfonso to help her against her enemies, in exchange for

which she promised to adopt him and make him her heir. Alfonso was received in all honour by the fickle queen, whose capital he occupied; but she soon got tired of the airs of proprietorship of her adopted son, and chose as her new heir his hereditary rival in his Italian policy, Louis of Anjou, whose house thenceforward preferred a double claim to the Neapolitan throne.

With varying fortunes Aragon sustained for the next eleven years a constant war with the Angevin and Genoese forces, sometimes aided by the Pope, for the possession of the kingdom of Naples. At length, in 1435, a few months only before the death of Joan, the Aragonese fleet was completely defeated by the Duke of Milan, and Alfonso and his two brothers fell into the hands of their enemies. A change of Pope, the defection of the Duke of Milan, and a new shifting of the intrigue soon afterward enabled the Aragonese once more to take the field against René of Anjou, the brother of Louis, who now claimed the crown. In 1442 Naples was captured by Alfonso V, and though Pope Eugenius had at first formally granted to René of Anjou the investiture of the kingdom, Alfonso V thenceforward, till his death, reigned with the papal blessing as King of Naples and Sicily, and failed not to cast his eyes still farther east and to dream of rescuing Constantinople from the threatening horde of Turks which soon afterward overwhelmed the Empire of the East. When, at length, this strong and ambitious Alfonso of Aragon died, in 1458, his bastard son Fernando inherited the Italian kingdoms, while his brother Juan, who had in right of his wife already taken possession of the kingdom of Navarre, now became also King of Aragon.

In the course of this history only very slight reference has been made to the little Spanish kingdom of Navarre. Shut in by Castile and Aragon, and inhabited by a population (the Basques) which had remained racially separate

from the other Spanish peoples, Navarre had exerted little or no influence in the making of the greater nation. With parliamentary institutions which had developed on the same lines as those of Aragon and Catalonia, where the legislative chamber consisted of the three orders of citizens—nobles, clergy, and burgesses—acting in concert as a check upon the crown, and where society had grown out of an aristocracy, there was little or no sympathy with Castile, where it had developed from a confederation of self-governing communities. For centuries the connections of Navarre had therefore been chiefly with Aragon and with the lordships of the south of France; and by successive marriages of heiresses of Navarre, French dynasties had ruled over the little Spanish Navarrese kingdom as well as over territories on the other side of the Pyrenees.

By the death of Charles the Noble, in 1425, the male line of Evreux became extinct, and the crown fell to his daughter Blanche, the wife of Juan of Aragon, who on the death of his brother Alfonso V, in 1458, became King of Aragon. Blanche herself had died in 1441, and her son Charles, Prince of Viana, had then legally become entitled to the crown, with remainder to his sister Blanche, though at his mother's dying wish he agreed not to assume the style of king while his father, Juan II of Aragon, lived. The latter, turbulent, ambitious, and unscrupulous, had with his brothers intervened constantly in the Castilian struggle of the nobles against Alvaro de Luna, and in one of the crises of the contest he had married, after Blanche of Navarre's death, the daughter of Henriquez, Admiral of Castile, the leader of the party opposed to Alvaro.

When once more Alvaro de Luna was victorious at Olmedo (1445), and Juan of Aragon retired to his son's realm of Navarre, Juan's new nonroyal wife, proud and ambitious, soon stirred up bitter strife against her stepson, the young Prince of Viana, the rightful King of Navarre; and the litt[le]

kingdom was divided into two warring factions. In 1452, Juan II, on his departure for another attack on Alvaro de Luna in Castile, sent his wife to Navarre as joint regent with the Prince of Viana, and a civil war between father and son broke out. The Castilians did their best to aid the son, for his sister Blanche was married to Henry IV of Castile; but Charles of Viana was defeated, and imprisoned by his father in the castle of Monroy. Juan's own future subjects, the Aragonese, indignantly remonstrated with him in Cortes for his treatment of his heir, and insisted upon his release. But soon the discord in Navarre again broke out, and the unhappy Prince of Viana fled from his father's anger to the court of his uncle King Alfonso at Naples, while civil war still desolated his country.

On the death of Alfonso V of Aragon, in 1458, and the succession of Juan II to the thrones of Aragon and Sicily, the young prince retired to study at a monastery near Messina, and in the meanwhile his many friends planned a marriage for him with the Infanta Isabel of Castile, and brought him to Barcelona. His enraged father there treacherously seized and imprisoned him. Catalonia sprang to arms, and Juan II in alarm again released his son; but the latter died, almost certainly poisoned, immediately afterward, to the indelible disgrace of his father.

Few facts of history have aroused so much controversy as the tragic life and death of this amiable but cruelly ill-used young prince, and the reason of his father's relentless persecution of him. It was certainly not his own ambition; but, on the other hand, those who defend his father point to the fact that if it had been his wish to seize the crown of Navarre and incorporate it with Aragon he would not, as he did, have allowed the prince's sister Eleanor and her French husband to take possession of the government as his viceroys, and to succeed at his death. The true heir was Blanche, formerly Queen of Castile, but now repudiated by

her contemptible husband, Henry IV, and living in retirement; but she, by the connivance of her father, who hated her as much as he did her dead brother, was handed over to the tender care of her younger sister and heir, who was married to Gaston de Foix, and she was poisoned in their castle of Ortez (1462).

The Catalans could not forget their king's treatment of his son and daughter, and continued in arms against him, and more especially against his brave and masculine wife, Juana Henriquez. For years civil war raged in the principality of Catalonia, never again to be free for any great length of time from attempts to separate from the rest of Spain. Artful Louis XI, by a sharp bargain, temporarily got the territory belonging to Aragon north of the Pyrenees in payment for the little aid he gave to Juan and his Castilian wife; while the wretched Henry IV, King of Castile, René of Anjou, and his son, the Duke of Lorraine, all lent more or less effectual aid to the revolted Catalans. Barcelona held out for years; the bold spirit even of Juana Henriquez failed, and she died in 1468 while the struggle still raged. But the King of Aragon, aged now and almost blind, still fought on, poisoning his enemies when he could, encouraging his bastard son, the Archbishop of Zaragoza, the commander of his armies, to strike hard and spare not. Broken by age and sickness, borne down by his heavy burden of sin as he was, he must have seen nevertheless that he had not striven in vain. His daughter Eleanor was, it is true, his regent for the mountain realm of Navarre, which might pass to her French posterity; but all the rest of Spain was clearly now destined to pass under one sceptre, and that would be wielded by his descendants, for his only son Fernando, by his beloved Juana Henriquez, was already married to her who wore the crown of Castile.

Fernando was a fit son of such a father. Young as he still was, he had already proved himself able, cautious, reti-

cent, greedy, and utterly unscrupulous; and as Juan II neared his grave, in 1479, he may well have thought that the dreams of his forefathers would at last come true, and that the King of Aragon, Count of Barcelona, with the added wealth of Castile behind him, might hold within his grasp not the Mediterranean alone, but a new and grander Oriental empire, from which the Cross had finally chased the Crescent.

It is now time to return to the stirring contemporary events in Castile, where the death of Juan II (1454) had elevated his rebellious son Henry to the throne. The new king, big of limb, tawny, shaggy, and lymphatic, was nevertheless a poor, soft creature from whose weakness the ambitious nobles thought that at last they might wring the concessions which should give to them the upper hand in the state. Like his ancestor Henry II, he began by granting fiefs, titles, exemptions, and pensions with so lavish a hand as to provoke the jealousy of the nobles against each other, and this to some extent neutralized the danger to the state. As before, "leagues" and "unions" of nobles were formed, in which three or four families by solemn covenant bound themselves together in offensive and defensive alliance against all the rest; but the jealousy was so great that there was no possibility of a general confederation of the order.

The man who at first received the lion's share of the king's favours, until the amount of his wealth was a scandal, was Don Juan Pacheco, whom Henry's father, Juan II, had appointed as his son's principal minister.* Upon this fortunate but insatiable personage, who later became Marquis de Villena, the jealousy of less favoured nobles was accordingly concentrated; and once more Castile and Leon were reduced

* The whole of these grants, and a great mass of other papers connected with this personage, are in the archives of his descendant the Duke of Frias, who has kindly furnished me with full abstracts of them. Others are printed in the Documentos Ineditos, vol. xiv.

to a state akin to anarchy by the feuds of the nobles against each other.

Pacheco had commenced by making terms by which the long dispute with Navarre was settled,* greatly to his private advantage; but the only way in which the discontent of the nobles could be silenced was to employ them in a war which promised to enrich them at some one else's expense. The Moors of Granada were always fair game, and the divided condition of the little Moslem kingdom invited attack. Calling a Cortes at Cuellar, Henry, King of Castile, accordingly delivered a speech to the deputies deploring the luxury and idleness of the age, and proposing that so godly and necessary a task as the extirpation of the enemies of the faith should be undertaken without delay, to which course the Cortes consented.

War against the Moors had continued intermittently for many centuries, as we have seen, and at some periods, especially under Saint Fernando, considerable zeal had been exhibited in the promotion of religious feeling in connection with it; but, withal, the primary object of the Christian advance had for hundreds of years been the recovery of territory rather than the destruction of the infidel; and this speech of Henry IV marks the change of feeling which had taken place as a result of the increased power of the Church and the establishment of the Papal Inquisition.

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* As an instance of how such affairs were managed at the time, it may be mentioned that the conditions of peace were that, on payment of 3,500,000 maravedis, the Queen and King of Navarre (i. e., Blanche of Navarre and her husband, Juan of Aragon) agreed to deliver to King Henry all the towns and territories they held in Castile except the townships of Chinchilla, Alarcon, Albacete, Tobarra, Yecla, Sax, the castle of Garci Muñoz, Villarejo de Fuentes, and San Clemente, and some others, *which were to be handed over to Juan Pacheco.* All the principal Castilian towns held by the Navarrese therefore became the property of the favourite, while the nation paid 3,500,000 maravedis for the possession of some insignificant villages that are not even mentioned in the treaty.

Henry gained neither honour nor profit in the three successive campaigns against Granada, although his incursions extended into the fertile Vega itself; for the king was weak and unwarlike, eager for the display of soldiering, but unwilling to suffer its risks and hardships. The greedy nobles, disappointed of their expected booty, again broke up into leagues, some of which even conspired against the king himself, whose complete ineptitude was now patent to all. He had been divorced from his first wife, the unfortunate Blanche the younger of Navarre, on the ground of impotence, although at the same time he was carrying on intrigues with some of her ladies, and, to the disgust of many of his nobles, married in 1462 the Princess Juana of Portugal, whose ostentatious favour to Don Beltran de la Cueva, with the humiliating compliance of the king, was a crowning cause of discontent to the court.

As grants and favours were showered upon Beltran—soon to be Count de Ledesma and Grand Master of Santiago—the other nobles, under Pacheco, sulked and plotted with Juan II of Aragon and Navarre. In vain Henry IV endeavoured to keep Pacheco in his interest by more splendid benefactions to him than ever; in vain was the same favourite, with the Archbishop of Toledo (Carillo) and some other nobles, given full power (May, 1461) to arrange internal peace on any terms; but with Beltran de la Cueva boasting openly of being the queen's lover and flaunting the king's favour, no peace was possible. The difficulty was increased when the queen gave birth to a daughter in 1462, and the king summoned the nobles and the Cortes to take the oath of allegiance to the infant as heiress to the throne.

This was too much. The discontented nobles met at Burgos, under Pacheco and his uncle, the Archbishop of Toledo, and protested against the recognition of the infant Princess Juana—the Beltraneja, as she was called in irony—whose birth was said to be notoriously illegitimate. The

king's younger brother Alfonso, a boy of eleven, was adopted as heir, and an ultimatum was sent to Henry. The king was suspiciously ready to come to terms, and agreed to the recognition of his brother as heir, on condition that the latter married his infant niece, "the Beltraneja." Beltran de la Cueva also surrendered to Alfonso the grand mastership of Santiago, which made him almost a petty sovereign, in exchange for the dukedom of Alburquerque; and Pacheco, now Marquis de Villena, his uncle Alfonso de Carillo, Archbishop of Toledo, and the representatives of the lower nobility, were commissioned by Henry to propose remedies for the troubles which afflicted the country.

They met at Cigales, and the report they presented, in December, 1464, must have come as a shock to the king, for it went so far as to cast doubts upon his orthodoxy, and evidently portended the intention of the nobles to dethrone him; while at the same time the commissioners condemned to banishment or prison all the partisans of Beltran de la Cueva.* The latter was sufficiently strong to prevent the recommendations from being carried out, and the discontented nobles retired to Avila, where they took the extraordinary course of dethroning the king in effigy with a ceremony eminently characteristic of the romantic feeling then prevalent in Spain.

Outside the walled city, on an eminence in the *dehesa*,

* The draft of the memorial is in the Frias archives, and warns the king: 1. To send away from his side all the Moors who are with him, and to cease from favouring them—rather, indeed, to persecute them and confiscate their property. 2. That he should again make war upon Granada. 3. That he should favour the ecclesiastical judges, and allow the bishops to celebrate their congregations and synods. 4. That he should appoint a proper confessor, and confess and receive absolution at least once a year. 5. That he should pay punctually the obligations of the country, and cease to make demands for money; for there had never been so many demands as in the years 1461 and 1462, and if there was any need to impose fresh burdens, it should only be done by consent of the *three estates*. The gist is in the last two words.

a splendid throne was erected on which was seated a figure dressed in mourning, but decked with all the emblems of royalty (July, 1465). With blare of trumpets and challenge of heralds the king in person was summoned to appear; and then, in his absence, the solemn indictment against him was read, and one by one the regal attributes were plucked from the figure. The warlike archbishop tore from its brow the crown which indicated sovereignty; Count de Plasencia removed the sword, the emblem of justice; another noble snatched the sceptre of government; and, finally, the dismantled effigy was cast down with contumely, to be torn to pieces by the crowd.

The Kings of Castile had always been sacrosanct; from the time of the later Visigoths their office had been sacerdotal as well as regal; and this awful ceremony, of which spectators afterward spoke with bated breath, could only be explained by the belief that the king's religion was unorthodox—another sign of the times which must not be forgotten. Then, with all reverence, the boy Alfonso was proclaimed king in place of the deposed Henry, and most of the great cities of the south and centre rallied to the nobles and their new puppet.

It was clear to Beltran de la Cueva that he must fight or fall. Furious denunciations were issued against King Alfonso, Pacheco, the archbishop and his friends; and all Spain was forced to take sides. The armies met at Olmedo, that of the nobles being led by the fiery Carillo, Archbishop of Toledo, who was wounded in the fray, while Beltran commanded the army of the king; but both sides claimed the victory, and the battle decided nothing. The boy king Alfonso had been piling grant upon grant in favour of the insatiable Pacheco, but the latter now turned round, and, for a consideration, promised Henry to make peace. But matters had gone too far, and Pacheco's influence with the nobles had waned. A period of absolute anarchy then pre-

vailed for a time over Castile. Little leagues of nobles and of towns fought against each other or defied all comers alike, and the writ neither of Henry nor of Alfonso was worth the paper upon which it was written outside the strongholds of their partisans. In 1468 the promising little Prince Alfonso died of poison at Cardeñosa, near Avila, and for a moment the chances of Henry IV the Impotent looked brighter; but the nobles had not far to look for another puppet, though this time they found one very different from any they had dealt with before.

Isabel of Castile, the half-sister of the king, a daughter of Juan II by his second wife, Isabel of Portugal, was sixteen years of age. She was already an example of piety and of learning, and had proved herself tactful and prudent in her relations with the king, in whose family she had lived until the partial pacification after the battle of Olmedo, when she had for her own safety's sake sought refuge with Alfonso and the nobles. When Alfonso died she retired to the Bernardine nunnery of Saint Ana, at Avila, and when the nobles sought her there to hail her as queen she dutifully and diplomatically declined the proffered honour, and offered to negotiate between the nobles and the king. The nobles were reluctant, but they had no one in whose name they could act but Isabel, and she stood firm. She rightly preferred a legal crown in the future to an illegal one in the present, and the terms to which Henry was forced to submit were sufficiently humiliating for him, while quite safe for his sister.

There has always been considerable doubt as to the illegitimacy of the rival claimant to the Castilian succession, the queen's daughter Juana, the Beltraneja, the king having sworn both that he was, and was not, the father; but the evidence brought to light in our own times considerably strengthens the idea that she was the legitimate daughter and heiress of the king. The nobles and churchmen were certainly unscrupulous enough to brand the unfortunate

child as a bastard if it suited their interests, as they thought it did in this case; and her exclusion from the throne in any case was merely a political intrigue for which her alleged illegitimacy was a pretext. How far Isabel herself can be held responsible for the injustice to her niece is open to question. She was a young girl who in such a matter would necessarily have to be guided by others; and with the greatest ecclesiastical dignitary in Spain and the highest nobles in the land assuring her that she, and not the Beltraneja, was the rightful heiress to the crown, it is not surprising that she, with her vast ambitions and exalted ideas, should have believed them.

Henry IV accepted the conditions which she imposed, and in a Jeronomite monastery at a place called Toros de Guisando, in 1468, the nobles and prelates there assembled took the oath of allegiance to Henry as king and to Isabel as heiress of Castile and Leon. The poor Beltraneja was thrust aside and the Beltraneja's mother divorced; a Cortes was convened to dictate to the wretched king new remedies for the nation's maladies, and it was solemnly stipulated that Isabel should not be forced to marry against her will or wed any one without the consent of her brother. There was reason for these stipulations, for at least two attempts had been made by the rival factions to marry her to their own nominees since the death of her affianced, the unfortunate Prince of Viana.* But the question was one of vital importance for the country, as evidently Isabel herself understood. Louis XI coveted her for his brother. Richard, Duke of Gloucester (Richard III), offered his hand, as did other suitors less splendid; but Isabel had no notion of allowing Castile to become an appanage of England or of France, and her plan for her country was to absorb rather than to be absorbed.

* The nobles had tried to force upon her for a husband Pacheco's brother, the Grand Master of Calatrava, and the court party had betrothed her to Alfonso V of Portugal, the brother of the queen.

The tendency generally had been toward possible national union between Castile and Portugal rather than between Castile and Aragon, for reasons which have more than once been stated; but those who have followed the concurrent history of the two Spanish realms here told will understand that a point had now been reached where the national aspirations of either country could only be attained by aid of the added strength of the other. The discoveries of the Portuguese along the coast of Africa, and the important commercial results which the possession of the Canaries had brought to Castile, were opening the eyes of men to the value of new possessions beyond the sea. The kingdom of Granada was ripe for Christian capture, and when that was effected the whole of Moslem Morocco lay open to the attack of the Castilian; but nothing could be done without the assurance of aid of a first-rate maritime power like Aragon. The latter kingdom, on the other hand, shut in now more than ever by the French and bitterly opposed by the Venetians and Genoese, saw her expansion from Sicily toward the east cut off unless she had behind her also the population and wealth of Castile and Leon. That the clever, wicked old Juan II of Aragon and his still more able son Fernando saw this is certain, and there is every reason to believe that young Princess Isabel saw it too; but the archbishop and the nobles who so successfully intrigued to bring about the marriage of the two heirs were probably moved mainly by the fact that if they joined Aragon to their political party nothing could withstand them, and that the legislative position of the nobles of Aragon was much more powerful than that of the Castilian aristocracy, who were now ousted from parliament by the towns.

King Henry and the court party, headed now by the unscrupulous Juan Pacheco, battening still on further grants, opposed the match strenuously, and negotiated with the King of Portugal for the union of the Beltraneja with his heir, and

the simultaneous proclamation of her legitimacy. But the Church was on the side of Isabel, and the people followed suit. Pacheco boldly endeavoured to kidnap Isabel from Madrigal, and elaborate plots were made to intercept and murder Fernando if he should enter Castile. In disguise, again so characteristic of that romantic age, the bridegroom amid many dangers ran the gantlet of the Pacheco and Mendoza leagues, and was married to Isabel of Castile with frantic public rejoicing, though with but modest ceremony, within the strong walls of the faithful city of Valladolid (October, 1469), whither the bride had been borne by the warlike Archbishop of Toledo and his troops. The conditions imposed by the Castilians upon the bridegroom were far from pleasing either to Fernando or his astute father, and on one occasion it seemed as if no bargain would be struck; but doubtless Fernando accepted the treaty, as was his wont, with intention of violating it,* for he undertook to respect the customs and laws of Castile, to recognise Isabel as the sole governor of Castile and joint sovereign of Aragon, and not to leave Castile himself unless with his wife's consent.

News of the marriage came to King Henry's court like a thunderclap, for it meant ruin to the Pachecos and Mendozas, who had opposed it; and the violation by Isabel of her pledge at Guisando, not to marry against the king's will,

* This was obvious from Fernando's behaviour on Isabel's accession to the throne (1474), when he set up his own claim to be King of Castile as the senior male representative of Fernando the Good, Regent of Castile (the elected King of Aragon), and wished to take precedence of his wife in her own realm. Isabel was firm but conciliatory in the matter, and, not entirely to Fernando's satisfaction, an agreement was arrived at by which they were to reign jointly, and all royal grants, charters, coins, etc., were to bear both names; but Isabel kept in her own hands the ecclesiastical patronage and the finances of Castile, while the commanders of fortresses in her realm were to hold their castles at the disposal of the queen alone; so that she, and not her husband, commanded the ultimate resources in arms and money of her realm.

was made an excuse for again disinheriting her and proclaiming the Beltraneja the rightful heir to the crown. A Cortes was summoned to take a fresh oath of allegiance to her, but the deputies from the towns came not. The court faction of nobles met, however, in October, 1470, and paid homage to the young Beltraneja princess, who was then solemnly betrothed to the Duke of Guienne, the brother and heir to Louis XI.*

Once more the leagues of nobles split up, many deserting Isabel for her rival, and for a time Fortune smiled upon the Beltraneja; for Aragon was at war with France over the provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne, which, it will be recollected, had been pledged to Louis XI, but had revolted and again joined Catalonia. Fernando of Aragon was forced to leave his young wife in her modest court at Dueñas, and with a body of Castilian horse hurried to fight the French. He behaved well, and he with his astute father managed to make peace with Louis XI on excellent terms for themselves.

By the time he came back to Castile the star of the Beltraneja had sunk again. The folly, the weakness, and the rapacity of her putative father, the dignified wisdom of Isabel, and the influence of the Church had again drawn away from the king and his daughter the balance of support, and the French husband from whom so much was expected had been poisoned. There was practically no central government. Municipal corporations, leagues of nobles, individual chiefs in their walled castles, and territorial lords within their jurisdiction kept some sort of order and fought against each other; but each went his own way, changing sides or selling his adherence at his pleasure, and over all anarchy reigned.†

* The marriage treaty signed by Louis XI is in the Frias archives. It is also curious to see in the same archives the numerous grants and bribes given to Pacheco (Marquis de Villena) by the various suitors for the princess's hand, especially the Kings of Portugal and France, and of course by his own king.

† The calamitous state of affairs was fully understood by the writers of the day. Two famous sets of satirical *coplas* survive, namely, the

Happily, in 1474 the wretched Henry the Impotent died, and Isabel ascended the throne of Castile. She was at Segovia at the time of her brother's death, and was there proclaimed queen in December, 1474, not without some protests on behalf of the Beltraneja; and early in the following year (1475) the Cortes of Segovia solemnly paid Isabel homage. The claims of Fernando upon his wife's crown for a time threatened trouble, which was only overcome by the wisdom of Isabel and the recognition by the Cortes of their child Isabel as heiress to the throne.

But a greater danger than this succeeded. The nobles who had sided with the Beltraneja, strengthened now by the same Archbishop of Toledo who had formerly opposed them, appealed to the ambitious Alfonso V of Portugal, who crossed the frontier with a powerful army, was betrothed to his niece, the Beltraneja, on whose behalf he claimed the crown, and occupied the strongholds of Toro and Zamora. Fernando was at first obliged to fall back from Toro, for Louis XI caused a diversion in favour of the Beltraneja by invading Biscay; but Isabel was a host in herself, and was already idolized by her people. Summoning a Cortes at Medina del Campo in August, 1475, she appealed eloquently for their aid against the foreigner who sought to impose a sovereign upon Castile. The towns voted the aids she required, the Church worked manfully in her favour, and before the end of the year she had strong re-enforcements ready to join her husband's army. The decisive battle took place

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Coplas del Provincial and the better known Coplas de Mingo Revulgo, which give a striking picture of the prevailing anarchy, and the contempt with which the writers looked upon the turbulent upper classes. Mingo Revulgo consists of 32 stanzas, representing a dialogue between two shepherds—Mingo Revulgo, who takes the side of the mass of the people, and Gil Aribato, the spokesman of the aristocratic classes. The result of the colloquy is to cast the blame upon the king and his court and to praise the moderate and sober middle class.

in February, 1476, near Toro, where the Portuguese were utterly routed and the hopes of the Beltraneja were crushed for ever. In the treaty of peace that followed it was arranged that the unfortunate princess should marry the child Infante Juan, heir of Fernando and Isabel; but the Beltraneja was weary of being married and unmarried to please others and retired to a convent in Portugal, where she ended her days, while the heir of Portugal married Isabel, the baby daughter of the Queen of Castile. The rebel nobles gradually came in and gave their submission to their new sovereigns; Louis XI offered an alliance and perpetual friendship to the important power now formed by the union of Castile and Aragon; and when Juan II of Aragon died, in January, 1479, Fernando and Isabel, "the Catholic kings," two governing geniuses of the highest order in their respective ways, reigned over the confederated realms of Castile, Leon, and Aragon.

The problems before them were manifold and difficult, especially in Castile, where the weakness of the successive kings of the house of Trastamara had allowed the nobles to get out of hand, while enormously increasing the possessions of the territorial lords. Their turbulent "leagues" made an effective central government impossible; but what was of much more importance was that under their influence and that of the kings the power of the middle class in the Cortes had declined. In the reign of Juan II the number of towns having the right of representation in Cortes was reduced to 17, and the nomination by the kings of nobles as hereditary alcaldes, together with the appointment of official corregidores, enabled the sovereign in many cases to dictate the choice of representatives to Cortes to please himself. The voting of the regular and extra subsidy without question had, moreover, given grounds to the sovereign for looking upon this, at least, as a tribute which might be levied in any case, and for considering that the right of the Cortes to question supply only extended to fur-

ther demands over and above the regular amount annually demanded.

The greed and ambition of all classes had indeed caused the collapse of government in Castile. The nobles, by claiming exemption from national burdens, had rendered their own exclusion from legislative power possible; the middle classes, then all-powerful in Cortes, had, not unnaturally, devoted the whole of their efforts to curtailing the privileges of the nobles, the Church, and the craftsmen; and in their turn had been divested of much political power by the sovereign after the crown had fallen into the hands of factions of nobles, which made it the mere instrument of a party or a favourite. In these circumstances, with all classes divided, it only needed a strong monarch to seize power for himself and to turn Castile into a despotism.

It was far otherwise in Aragon. There the feudal power of the nobles had been, it is true, to a great extent destroyed by Jaime I and Pedro IV; but both in Aragon and Catalonia the two orders of nobles had coalesced with the burgesses to prevent the complete dominance of the crown, and the result was not only the existence of a strong concrete parliament, in which all classes were represented, but a judicial system practically independent of the sovereign.

For the present, therefore, the principal need of the new monarchs was to centralize the dispersed political power in Castile in their own hands. Their first step in this direction testifies to their wisdom. The strongest and most respectable institutions that had existed before the ambition of the nobles had thrown the country into anarchy were the brotherhoods of the chief cities. These were again resuscitated for the purpose of raising a military police of 2,000 horse and numerous archers, to be commanded by the king's brother and paid by the confederated municipalities,* for the purpose

* A tax of 18,000 maravedis was imposed upon every hundred householders to defray the expense.

of clearing the roads of robbers and disturbers of the peace, high and low. The Holy Brotherhood, as it was called, possessed its own summary judicial courts, a board of magistrates being chosen by the confederated cities to decide, without appeal, all causes sent to it by the alcaldes of the towns or villages. Without mercy and without truce the country was swept of malefactors. The nobles, large and small, who had lived upon rapine, the masters of the great military orders which had degenerated into fraternities of freebooters, were dismayed. This from a new queen was more than they expected, and they protested and remonstrated, but in vain, for the Holy Brotherhood combined was stronger than any federation they could form, and the queen herself was inflexible. She had gained the whip hand, and she meant to keep it. She herself was everywhere, travelling on horseback with a swiftness which astonished and alarmed her subjects. Scores of sinister castles were razed to the ground, and their knightly robber owners fled abroad.

The great Cortes of Toledo of 1480, one of the most important ever held in Spain, at the queen's initiative ordered a new codification of the laws; a complete reform of the judicial system was effected, and five councils were established, respectively to deal with foreign questions, petitions to the sovereigns, Aragonese affairs, the police organization, and finance. Fernando himself undertook to sit in court to judge supreme appeals every Friday, and in the course of a very few years the governmental and judicial organizations worked like clockwork, the roads were safe, the towns were comparatively prosperous, and the royal exchequer, which was empty and hopeless on Isabel's accession, was flourishing.

All this was not done without persistent opposition from the nobles, whose privileges and powers were one by one being stripped from them. They were prohibited from erecting fresh castles; the privileges of coining money, which had been

scattered broadcast, were withdrawn; the lavish grants of crown lands and rent charges, made to them by the later kings, were abolished by the Cortes of Toledo, to which they were specially invited to attend for the purpose of pleading their own cause. But they were disunited, jealous of each other, inheriting ancient family feuds; and the greater grandees, who had principally profited by the grants, were hated by the smaller nobles. There was nothing for them, therefore, but humbly to bend their heads to Isabel and Fernando, and to surrender what was required of them in order that they might be allowed to enjoy the rest. The vast estates of the military orders, too, of which the administration had become a scandal, were gradually taken possession of by the crown as the masterships fell vacant, and the knights in future were paid by fixed pensions, the masterships being usually retained in the royal family in virtue of bulls subsequently obtained from the popes.

The fixing of the value of money, the abolition of the inland customhouses between Leon and Castile, the curtailing of the privileges of the Mesta to appropriate the lands of others for grazing, the promotion of the industries of cloth weaving, the manufacture of arms and the working of silver, and the assistance given to shipbuilding in Andalusia, brought back to the towns much of the prosperity which had languished during the troublous times since the murder of Pedro the Cruel.

But there was still another direction in which the prescience of Isabel and her husband saw that they must work if national unity was to be effected. In the earlier pages of this work we have pointed out that the geographical and ethnological circumstances of Spain made unification on the usual lines of the fusion of races and the creation of common interests almost impossible. We have seen that it took the greatest governing people the world ever saw—the Romans—centuries to establish even their partial bureaucratic unity in

Spain, which fell to pieces when they left. The story we have had to tell of the reconquest has been one of constant internecine strife, without an indication that any one dreamed of Spain as forming a nationality. The nearest approach to such a feeling was during the later Visigoths, when the country was ruled by councils of ecclesiastics, and again when all Spain joined in a crusade against the Moors in 1212.

The long centuries of struggle against Islam under the patronage of the Church had intensified the natural devotional fervency of Spaniards; and the romantic spirit of the fifteenth century, which we have already mentioned, came still further to inflame men's minds with thoughts of distinction by sacrifice. Although the feeling against Mudejares and Jews, as foreigners living mysteriously apart and monopolizing many lucrative crafts, had grown more bitter as time went on, there had been, in Castile at least, no systematic persecution on religious grounds. It has already been shown that the Holy Inquisition had existed in the Aragonese dominions since early in the thirteenth century, while, owing to the opposition of Alfonso the Learned, it had practically flickered out in Castile. Even in Aragon and Catalonia the institution, though active, was comparatively mild in its punishments, and had been, of course, purely ecclesiastical and papal in its constitution. To the crafty Fernando, who had all his life been familiar with the institution, it seems first to have occurred that it might be utilized as an instrument for other ends than the enforcement of doctrinal uniformity.

Castilians were jealous of anything coming from Aragon, and Isabel had taken care from the first to emphasize the supremacy of the Castilian sovereigns over their Church; but religious exaltation was in the air, and the queen probably understood without difficulty the advantages to be gained by harnessing the growing forces of bigotry to her own governmental car and driving them her own way. Not only might

national unity be secured by the strict religious bond, and an irresistible impulse given to the conquest of Granada, but vast hoards of treasure might be obtained by confiscation of the property of recalcitrants, especially of Jews. The last reason was probably that which principally moved Fernando, and he lost no time after the accession of his wife in obtaining in conjunction with Isabel a bull from the Pope for the re-establishment of the Inquisition in Castile, and its reorganization in Aragon.

The first public note of intolerance, which must have convinced the monarchs that they were right, was struck in the Cortes of Toledo in 1480, where an oppressive set of laws was adopted against the Jews. They were prohibited from exercising the professions in which they excelled, and they were loaded with disabilities and insulting regulations. It was only after this that the Pope's bull was made use of and the Inquisition was formally established in the Dominican monastery of San Pedro and San Pablo, at Seville, early in 1481. In that year over 2,000 persons of Jewish and Moorish descent were burned in Andalusia alone for heresy; but the great holocaust did not commence until the appointment, in 1483, of the queen's confessor, Father Torquemada, a fierce Dominican bigot, to be chief inquisitor. Torquemada was a man of great ability, and of unbounded arrogance under the cloak of humility, and he had made Isabel almost as bigoted and intolerant as himself. Fernando wanted money; Isabel wished for national unity by means of the faith, and the glory of having obtained it at any cost; Torquemada thirsted for the blood of heretics. All three were satisfied to the full. The Jews were the richest and most enlightened of the citizens of Spain. Many thousands had already fled to cities in Castile where the Inquisition could not easily reach them; but those who could be indicted, and more especially those who had professed Christianity and were suspected of having relapsed, were seized and tried by

the stern Dominican judges, many thousands of the poor, harmless folk being burned alive during the next few years at the great *quemadero* outside Seville.

The Jews were hated for their wealth and exclusiveness, but the burning of them and the "new Christians" at this rate alarmed some of the wisest citizens of Castile, and even the Pope himself took fright and attempted, but unsuccessfully, to stay the slaughter. The king and queen knew their own minds; and although the inquisitors at first found many of the gates of the principal Castilian cities shut against them, Isabel was despotic, the Jews were unpopular, and the dread tribunal was soon enthroned in every part of Spain—dark and merciless, stamping the souls of Spaniards with one device, which thenceforward was to be the mark of the race. The Aragonese, more free and outspoken than the Castilians, protested against any infraction of the laws of the kingdom by the Inquisition, and murdered the inquisitor general in the cathedral of Zaragoza (1497); but Fernando found the confiscations profitable, and turned a hard face to the remonstrances of his subjects. The vengeance of the Holy Office finally terrified even the rough Aragonese into partial submission.

The Jews of Catalonia and Aragon had reached a point of wealth and social consideration which had enabled them to ally themselves with many noble families, and the highest officers of church and state had Jewish blood in their veins. The Inquisition struck at the most powerful class first, and members of the greatest families, even royalty itself, were visited by bitter persecution on the vaguest suspicion of a sympathy with Judaism. But though the Holy Office had its way on this occasion, the judicial charter of Aragon was enlightened and just, the representative system was powerful, and the Inquisition met here with a stubborn permanent resistance such as it experienced in no other part of Spain, and jealous eyes watched for every attempt of

the priestly judges to trench upon the special privileges of Aragon.

It would, however, be misleading to suggest that the ignorant masses of the people in any part of Spain looked upon the Holy Office with disgust. Their hate and envy of the Jews had been stirred up by fanatic priests for a century past, and of their own accord the mob had, in a burst of fury, massacred and despoiled Jews more than once, especially in Barcelona in 1388. This persecution of the hated people by popes and kings was therefore applauded by the populace, because it flattered the latter and gave high sanction for its violence and fury. The ignorant multitude welcomed this new proof that *they*, who of course were ready to repeat any creed, were the salt of the earth, and better than their fellow-men. Their lust for blood, their craving for excitement, their personal pride, were all appealed to; and there is no denying that the Inquisition, hated as it was by the better classes, was popular with the crowd.

Isabel herself, an exalted, almost hysterical bigot, but a great stateswoman, was doubtless convinced that the fumes of burned heretics were a grateful incense to the Most High; but she was equally sure that, if by terror and Torquemada she could dominate the souls of men, she would not have much difficulty in ruling their bodies. On the other hand, Fernando, with his vast plans which were to make little Aragon the dictator of Europe, needed funds above all things; and the confiscations of the property of Jews after a few years fell off. Every nerve had been strained to conquer for Castile the last foothold of the Moors at Granada, for that was necessary before the turn of Aragon came; but when Granada was in his hands (March, 1492), then money Fernando must have for his own great purposes. The way he took to obtain it was probably the most economically unwise it is possible to conceive; but Fernando lived before the days of political economy.

The popular feeling against the Jews had become more and more bitter; and if the middle masses could be flattered, the clergy propitiated, and his own treasury filled at one stroke, neither the King of Aragon nor his wife was likely to object out of any scruple about displeasing the Jews. From conquered Granada, therefore, went forth the fell edict that within four months every Jew—man, woman, and child—was to leave Spain or surrender his life at the end of that time. By a refinement of cruelty, the wealth which had brought upon them the hate of their neighbours was all to be left behind them. There were a quarter of a million Jews in the country, and amid scenes of heartrending brutality these poor people, old and young, sick and well, rich and poor, were driven from their homes and the land in which they had been born. On foot, and mostly penniless, they crowded the great roads to the seaports and to Portugal, thousands falling and dying by the wayside, starved, robbed of what little they tried to conceal, maltreated, and in many cases murdered. Those that were left of these people, many of whom were bred in luxury and opulence, the most learned and civilized citizens of Spanish birth, were driven forth to seek refuge in less savage lands, there to perpetuate the Spanish speech of their forefathers,* and to bear for all time their Castilian names. But there was a lower depth of inhumanity still. The Jews were hounded out and their property confiscated; but dead men can make no claims and wreak no vengeance, and a bull was obtained from the Pope enjoining all Christian sovereigns to apprehend and send back to Spain such Jews as had reached their dominions. Fortunately for the sake of humanity, this brutal order was generally disregarded.

Another portion of the great task of national unification

* The Jews throughout Turkey still speak Spanish, and I have before me, as I write, a newspaper of the present year (1900) published in Sofia, Bulgaria, and printed in Hebrew characters, but in the Castilian language. Its title is La Verdad.

to which Fernando and Isabel set their hands was the final extinction of Moslem rule in Spain.* The anarchical condition of Castile for a century had encouraged the kings of Granada to discontinue the payment of their tribute; and when Fernando, in answer to Muley Hassan's advances for a new treaty of alliance in 1476, demanded the tribute, the Moor's reply was a haughty and defiant refusal. Fernando was not ready for war, for he had not yet succeeded to the crown of Aragon; but a Moorish raid and the capture of Zahara by the Granadans in 1481 gave the pretext to the Catholic sovereigns for a regular war of conquest, for which they were now prepared. The first move was the capture of the important Moorish town of Alhama by the Marquis of Cadiz and his followers, early in 1482; and the king and queen, with a great train of ecclesiastics, established their headquarters at Cordova, Fernando advancing as far as the conquered Alhama, whence their troops desolated the fertile plain of Granada without encountering serious resistance. Thenceforward for six years continual warfare was waged against the Moslems.

The incitement of the churchmen and the persecution of the Jews and new Christians had now fairly launched the

* This course, however, was not adopted without some resistance from Fernando, who wished first of all to recover from the French his counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne. He had in vain sent a formal embassy to the new King of France, Charles VIII, demanding their restitution, in accordance with the promise and instructions of Louis XI (1484). Fernando urged that it was the first duty to recover one's own rather than to conquer that which belonged to others. "If," he said, "the queen's war against the Moors was a holy one, his against the French would be a just one." The queen, however, had her way, though it was concealed under the decision to carry on both wars at once, which was impossible, for the king was quarrelling with his Cortes at Tarragona, Catalans and Valencians were almost mutinous because their representatives had been summoned to sit outside their respective dominions, and the Aragonese were bitterly jealous that the king was neglecting them for the sake of Castile. (Cronica de Pulgar.)

Spanish people upon a fury of intolerance. They had always hated and scorned foreigners, even the men in the next town, but their reasons for hating them had been mainly racial and geographical. Now, innate cruelty, individual pride, a vivid imagination long fed with extravagant fables, religious and secular, and lust for unearned wealth, all combined under the eager blessings of the queen and the Church to make the Spaniards, as a race, relentless persecutors of those who dared to think differently from themselves. This was the new spirit in which the conquest of Granada was approached, and it would be idle to deny that it gave to the Christian Spaniards a cohesion they had never known before. This was the queen's strength, and she knew it, though she probably attributed it to the special interposition of God on her behalf, even as she had been taught that He had sent His chosen Santiago to lead the forces of her ancestors to victory over the infidel.

The kingdom of Granada was split by domestic discord. The first wife of Muley Hassan, a lady of Christian Spanish birth, sought to depose him in favour of her son Abu Abdullah (Boabdil). After the loss of Alhama the pretender was proclaimed King of Granada, and Muley Hassan fled to Malaga, where, and at Loja, he and his brother El Zagal inflicted a series of disastrous defeats upon the Christians. But Boabdil, anxious to consolidate his own power in Granada and rival the victories of his father and uncle, ventured to give battle to the Christians at Lucena, where he was captured, and only liberated on his abject submission and the payment of a great ransom. When he returned to Granada as the humble tributary of the Christian he found his uncle in possession; and during the civil war which ensued between them the Christians successively took possession of Zahara, Ronda, Zalea, Loja, Modin, Velez Malaga, Malaga, Baza, Guadix, and Almeria.

By the end of 1490 all that was left to the Moslem of

the kingdom of Granada was the city and the surrounding plain, and early in 1491 Fernando sat down before the walls, swearing to maintain the siege until the last stronghold of Islam in Spain fell into his hands. Isabel herself was there, urging with her presence and her exhortations the Castilian knights to feats of personal valour. All that warlike science, lavish expenditure, and merciless persistence could do to desolate the surrounding country and reduce the city was effected by the Catholic queen. The wretched Boabdil, whose treachery and ambition had divided his kingdom in face of the enemy, was powerless to resist all the chivalry of Spain, supported by the tremendous influence of the Catholic Church and the burning zeal and tireless labours of Isabel. The Christian camp was burned by accident, but the invincible spirit of the queen raised in its place a stone-built city, which she called Santa Fé, as an indication of her resolve not to move till Granada was hers.

As the iron band around the Moorish stronghold tightened Boabdil lost heart and hope, and in November, 1491, signed a capitulation to deliver the city within sixty-five days. But there was no need to wait so long. Boabdil, broken-hearted, deserted the realm of his forefathers, and beautiful, peerless Granada, the last bright jewel of Islam in western Europe, became a Christian city (January, 1492). Chased from the land wherein they had ruled for more than seven centuries, the Moslems might dominate Africa, or even threaten Europe from the East, but the west of the white continent was thenceforward to be Christian for all time. The fact was a great one, and the impression it produced upon Europe was profound, out of all proportion to the small military feat of the conquest of the petty kingdom of Granada; and yet an event which at the time appeared to be of secondary importance, was destined to have an enormously greater effect upon the Spanish people, and perhaps upon the history of the world.

The circumnavigation of Africa by the Portuguese, and their arrival by sea at the Asiatic ports, had given an immense impetus to cosmographic speculation. Among many busy brains that were occupied with the vast possibilities which were offered by the new discoveries were those of a Genoese mariner established in Lisbon, many of whose relatives had made adventurous voyages into the western and southern Atlantic, and who himself had reached as far north and west as Iceland and as far south as the Gulf of Guinea. By reading and reflection he had come to the conclusion that he could reach Asia by sailing due west, and had proposed to Juan II of Portugal the fitting out of an expedition of exploration with that object. The question was referred to a commission, which reported unfavourably, and the king's own council was of a similar opinion, not only because the idea itself was considered impracticable, but because the Genoese demanded such terms for himself, in case of success, as were considered inadmissible. The latter was probably the principal reason for the rejection of his proposals, for a ship was surreptitiously sent on the king's account to test the assertions of Columbus; but the crew, alarmed at the mysterious Sargasso Sea, returned unsuccessful. The projector, disgusted at this bad faith, left Portugal to seek support in France or Spain, while his brother went to England with a similar object (1484). The ship that carried Columbus was driven by a storm into the Spanish port of Palos, and the mariner took refuge with his son in the neighbouring monastery of La Rabida. Leaving his child in the care of the monks, one of whom was Juan Perez, a former confessor of the queen, he went to Seville, probably with the intention of there taking ship for France; but being introduced to Don Luis de la Cerda, first Duke of Medina Celi, the great local magnate, he explained his projects to him and obtained the duke's promise to aid him in fitting out an expedition.

While the expedition was being prepared the duke wrote

to the all-powerful Cardinal Mendoza, informing him of the project, and asking the permission of the queen for the sailing of the expedition. The answer was a summons for Columbus himself to attend court and explain his project to the sovereigns. They were travelling at the time in the north of Spain, but eventually saw Columbus at Cordova, in May, 1486. The mariner had awaited them there for months in poverty and impatience, a butt for the court wits, who scoffed at the great dreamer; and when at last he saw the monarchs, they were busy and preoccupied with the coming campaign, and could only refer the question to a commission of scholars.

The various rebuffs and trials suffered by Columbus before he could finally gain his point must be told elsewhere. Though he found many shallow-pated courtiers to deride him and his plans, he had several powerful friends—Cardinal Mendoza; the king's chamberlain, Juan Cabrero; his household treasurer, Luis de Santangel, an Aragonese of Jewish blood; Gabriel Sanchez, the Aragonese treasurer; F. Juan Perez, and many others.

But Fernando and Isabel had their hands more than full, especially the former. The war with the Moors, the great Aragonese disputes with France, and the foreign policy which occupied the king's mind, left him but little leisure or resources to apply to other objects. The secular aim of Aragon was extension by the Mediterranean, not by the Atlantic; and after years of pleading, chafing, and waiting, Columbus was dismissed with a refusal to entertain his project, partly, no doubt, because of the extravagant conditions he demanded if he succeeded. But his friends Santangel and Cabrero had the ear of the queen and king, and Isabel herself was stirred at the vast prospects which success might open for Castile, and again Columbus was summoned to discuss terms. But these still appeared too hard, and Columbus stood out for them stiffly. He and his descendants must be viceroys and grand admirals of the Indies for ever,

with 10 per cent toll of all transactions, import and export, and of all minerals and produce, with the right of taking an eighth share of all ventures sailing thither or returning, and much else of the same sort.

Fernando must have seen the impossibility of ceding such terms to a foreign sailor, which would make the adventurer practically an independent sovereign and rich beyond human computation. But Isabel was urgent. The difficulty about money was got over by a loan from Luis de Santangel. Fernando rarely signed a treaty with the intention of keeping it further than suited his own interests; so Columbus was finally granted his terms in full, and started in 1492, soon after the capture of Granada, to discover and take possession of the New World for Castile and Leon. Of the various stages by which this was effected, the disappointment of the great discoverer, and the repudiation by Fernando of the terms to which he had consented, there is no space here to speak.

Within a very few years the effects of the discovery were seen in the Spanish people. They had disposed of the Moors in their own country; here were unknown millions of infidels to be dominated, plundered, or massacred. Here were adventures to be experienced before which those told in the books of chivalry paled to nothingness. Here was the glittering mirage of boundless wealth, to be had for the grasping; marvels beyond the dreams of even these imaginative minds fed upon foolish romantic tales. What wonder that Spaniards lost their mental balance, and that rapine, lust, and cruelty marked their way with a broad red track whithersoever they went? They were in their own eyes a chosen people, who under the shadow of the cross could do no evil; the Inquisition had sanctified cruelty in the service of Christ. Confiscation and death had been the portion of their own neighbours whose orthodoxy was doubtful; plunder and expulsion had been inflicted in the name of the faith on their Moorish kinsmen before the heaven-gazing eyes of their

saintly queen. Should these rough peasants, mariners, and soldiers be more squeamish than their betters? If it was welcome in the sight of God to burn and plunder Spaniards whose doctrine was questionable, how much more grateful would be the blood of infidel savages who had no belief at all? And, above all, how much more profitable to the slayers, who in this case themselves would keep the booty of their victims with an approving conscience! All this became more evident as time went on and left its deep impress on Spain; but it was the natural result of what had preceded the discovery of America, namely, the determination of Isabel and Fernando to employ religious bigotry for the purpose of consolidating their realms. For the present Fernando, at all events, had his thoughts nearer home than the undefined lands beyond the great ocean, which might benefit Castile, but could hardly do otherwise than impede the Aragonese objects which were nearest the king's heart.

After the conquest of Granada the natural advance of Castile would have been upon Morocco, where so many of her own expelled Moslem citizens had taken refuge and formed a permanent focus of enmity against her; but the influence of Fernando over Isabel was naturally powerful, and the policy which at the same time led to Spain's transient greatness and her permanent ruin was adopted. It has already been pointed out that Castile had no open questions which brought her into antagonism with France, while her relations with England had usually been cordial and friendly, owing solely to family and commercial connections. It was far otherwise with Aragon. For centuries the rival of France in Provence, in Sicily, in Naples, in Genoa, the lawful possessor still of two provinces on the north of the Pyrenees, which the French held by force, it was necessary for Aragon to seek such alliances as would hem France in with a ring of enemies, if the Aragonese were to realize their dream of being masters of the Mediterranean.

While Fernando was busy before Granada a blow was struck at his policy by the absorption of Brittany into France by the diplomatic marriage of Charles VIII with the duchess. With this added strength, and encouraged by the dissensions of the Italian princes, the French king thought himself justified in attempting to enforce the claim to the crown of Naples, which he had inherited from the house of Anjou. Naples, it will be recollected, had passed to the illegitimate descendants of Alfonso V of Aragon (p. 258) and its court was still to a great extent Aragonese. Fernando therefore had to be bought off by France with the bribe of Roussillon and Cerdagne not to interfere in Naples on his kinsman's behalf. Fernando was probably the most dishonest and unscrupulous politician of a peculiarly unscrupulous age. A master of pretence, with an affectation of frankness, his ingratiating falsity deceived again and again those whom he had cheated before. Charles VIII, shallow and opinionated, was no match for him, and trusted him to his cost. Years before Fernando had united, for the purpose of preserving the autonomy of Brittany, with Maximilian of Austria, the possessor of the Netherlands in right of his wife, and with England, the holder of the Channel;* and there had been much talk of marriages between the children of the allied monarchs. By the treaty of Barcelona (January, 1493) Charles restored to Aragon her two French provinces in return for the assurance of a free hand in Italy and elsewhere, and a promise from Fernando that his family should not be united by marriage with the houses of England, Austria, or Naples.

When Charles, in 1494, informed Fernando of his intentions against Naples, and claimed his aid in accordance with the treaty, the King of Aragon pretended to be shocked and

* Henry VII, astute as he was, had been quite outwitted in his treaty with Fernando, and was tricked into a warlike movement against France (1492), of which Spain, without moving a man, made capital to frighten Charles VIII into signing the treaty of Barcelona.

surprised beyond measure; and after the support of Milan and the jealousy of the Italian states of each other had allowed the French to march through the country and take possession of Naples without hindrance, Fernando quietly set to work to circumvent the victors. The Valencian Pope Alexander VI (Borgia) had been unable to resist the march of the French through Rome, but, prompted by Fernando, eagerly promoted the formation of a "holy league," consisting of Spain, Rome, Austria, Venice, and Milan, nominally against the Turk, but really against the French. The result was the signing of the treaty of Venice (1495), and Gonsalvo de Cordova, the great captain,* with a Spanish fleet and an army of 5,000 men, sailed for Naples, and with the aid of the natives promptly expelled the French and restored to the throne the Aragonese king. The victories of Gonsalvo de Cordova were, from the modern point of view, insignificant affairs enough, but they proved to Europe that a new fighting nation had entered the lists. With the exception of the struggles in Sicily and Sardinia, the Spanish soldier had thitherto only warred in his own land against the Moors. The French and Italians, keen critics as they were, now admitted that for endurance on the march, sobriety, obedience, and stubborn valour, no infantry ever seen in Europe could equal that led by Gonsalvo de Cordova in Italy, and this pre-eminence was preserved for the next one hundred and forty years.

Fernando had promptly seized upon the opportunity of his quarrel with the French to break all his undertakings under the treaty of Barcelona. He had by Isabel five children, of whom one was a son, Juan, born in 1478, the rest being daughters. The eldest daughter, Isabel, was married in 1490 to the heir of the crown of Portugal; but the hus-

* Fernando wished to appoint an Aragonese commander, but Isabel insisted upon the appointment of one of her own subjects, as the cost of the war was largely defrayed by Castile.

band died a few months afterward, and she subsequently married his cousin, King Emanuel. But the crowning triumph of Fernando's policy—and the ruin of Spain—was the double marriage of his son and second daughter, Juana, with the daughter and son of the Emperor Maximilian of Austria. The Archduke Philip, inheritor from his mother of Flanders and the vast possessions of the house of Burgundy, was to marry Juana of Aragon, while the only daughter of Maximilian, the Archduchess Margaret, was to wed Juan, the heir of Castile and Aragon. While these important alliances were being arranged, one hardly less momentous was in course of discussion, amid infinite chicanery on both sides, namely, that of Arthur, Prince of Wales, with the youngest daughter of Fernando and Isabel, Catharine of Aragon.

Imagination was dazzled at the prospects opened out by these marriages. The children of Philip and Juana would hold the splendid harbours of Flanders, and would hem in France also by the possession of Burgundy, Luxemburg, and the Franche-Comté, while the possession of the imperial crown and the German dominions of the house of Austria would enable a check to be placed upon a French advance in northern Italy. On the other side of the Channel, the grandchildren of Fernando would rule England and hold the narrow sea on the north of France, while the marriage of Margaret Tudor with James IV of Scotland deprived France of her ancient ally, and the King of Castile and Aragon might then with the assurance of success extend his grasp from Sicily, along north Africa, to Syria, and along the Adriatic and Ægean toward Constantinople, until the ancient claim to the Empire of the East became a practical and a solid one. The Genoese and Venetians, overawed by the dominant Mediterranean power, would decay, and Fernando's descendants might rule unquestioned from the pillars of Hercules to the Golden Horn. The plan was a splendid

one, and Fernando's crafty brain through his long life laboured for its partial fulfilment; but death and disaster stepped in, and it brought a curse instead of a blessing to the posterity of the plotter.

With unexampled magnificence the Austrian marriages were carried out (1497), but within a few months the first blow fell with the untimely death of the amiable and accomplished Prince Juan, the only son of the Spanish sovereigns. The next heir to the crowns was the Princess Isabel, wife of Emanuel of Portugal, but she, too, faded and died within the year in giving birth to a son, who followed his mother to the grave in his infancy. Then it was that the second daughter of Fernando and Isabel, the Princess Juana, married to the Archduke Philip, Duke of Burgundy, Count of Flanders, and heir to the empire, became the heiress of Castile.

The princess had lived since her marriage with her handsome husband in his pompous court at Brussels, but horrified whispers had reached Queen Isabel only a year after her daughter's marriage that the stern devotional Catholicism of the Spanish court had been abandoned by Juana for a less rigid form of religion. She had refused to confess to a priest sent from Spain by her mother, and the Spanish prelates who were despatched to report to the scandalized queen could only shake grave heads and deplore her obvious backsliding. Flanders was full of heterodox speculation, and it was known that Philip, the archduke, openly scoffed at the fierce, bitter Dominicans, who had captured the conscience of Spain, from Queen Isabel down to the beggar at her gates. The prospect of the accession of Juana struck dismay to those who had built up the unity of Spaniards on religious exclusiveness, and soon after the birth of Juana's eldest son, Charles (1500), intrigues were commenced to prevent her from ever ruling Catholic Spain.

In 1502 Juana was in Spain on a visit, and her mother

took the opportunity to make a presentment to the Cortes, requesting them to provide for the government in the case of her own death and of her heiress "being absent, or, if in Spain, being unwilling or unable to rule." * The queen's hint was sufficient. She wished her husband Fernando to rule Castile as well as Aragon after her death, and her wish was obeyed. Juana, they knew, was hysterical and weak-minded, even if she was not a heretic, and they hated the Fleming Archduke Philip, whose influence over his wife was supreme; and it is not to be wondered at that Isabel and Fernando between them should decide that the vast policy they had initiated could better be carried out by the old King of Aragon than by their hysterical daughter and her foreign husband. Before she died Isabel the Catholic confirmed the agreement by her own solemn will, and practically disinherited her own daughter in favour of King Fernando.†

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* Shortly afterward there were very serious disputes between the mother and daughter (1503) when Juana's second son, Fernando, was born in Spain. Juana was madly jealous of her husband, and immediately after her recovery she wished to leave Spain and join him in Flanders. Isabel refused her permission, and imprisoned her daughter at Medina del Campo. Whether Juana was really demented at the time, as Isabel hinted, is questionable, but we have it on the authority of Peter Martyr that she raged like a lioness at her detention, and her violent protests were successful, for she soon afterward joined her husband in Flanders. There is no doubt whatever that she was bereft of her reason, at all events, for a time after the death of her husband (1506), and it is extremely probable that both before and afterward she suffered from alternate fits of frenzy and gloomy abstraction.

† The queen's famous but disputed will, signed late in October, 1504, a month before her death, throws great light, if it be genuine, upon her much debated character. She was to be buried in dignified yet simple fashion in Granada; many charitable bequests were made, and a large dotation was left to her husband. This pious lady, however, withdraws and annuls all grants made by her to nobles and others in compliance with importunity, and desired that her successor should not alienate any portion of the dominions of the crown. This was nothing less than dishonesty, as many of the grants had been given in return for valuable services and consideration. In codicils the queen enjoins her successor, if possible, to abolish the oppressive

The queen had long suffered from an obscure nervous malady, and for some years before her death it was seen that her life would not be a long one. She had never spared herself. With an activity greater than most men of her court, she had gone through her realm incessantly, suppressing disturbance here, holding Cortes there, following the campaigns against the Moors, and busying herself in affairs of state. Fasting, ecstatic devotions, and mortification of the flesh had alternated with the constant labour of her position. Grief and disappointment at the misfortunes and early death of her children had broken some of her vigorous spirit, but, a great stateswoman to the last, she ruled her country from her sick-bed until death came to release her at Medina del Campo in November, 1504; and amid a war of elements such as, it was said, Spain had never seen before, the body of Isabel the Catholic was borne with dread devotion by her superstitious and sorrowing subjects to its last home in beautiful Granada, which the queen had restored to the faith of Christ.

This is not the place to discuss fully the real character of the great queen. That her objects were high and noble may be conceded, and that she succeeded in consolidating Spain as no other monarch had done, is true. But at what a cost! She had, in conjunction with Fernando, encouraged forces of bigotry and religious hate which flooded her realm with blood and tears, and threw it back in the race of nations for centuries. Her patronage of Columbus is more than blotted out by her patronage of Torquemada; her exalted

tax of the Alcabala, or 10-per-cent toll upon all transactions, which for three hundred years crushed Spanish commerce; and also ordered the conversion of the Indians to be carried out mercifully and kindly. A deputation of the wretched West Indian natives had come from Santo Domingo a short time before and had told their dreadful tale of extermination. Cardinal Jimenez had repeated it to the queen, and a special council to deal with colonial affairs had been established, but little or nothing had been done to save the natives. Nor was the queen's testamentary request of much efficacy. (Burke, History of Spain, edited by Martin Hume.)

piety is drowned in the recollection of her treatment of the Jews and the Moriscos. She was a fair embodiment of the prevailing feeling of her countrymen: that to them all things are permitted; *they* can do no wrong, because they are working for and with the cause of God. We shall see the bitter fruit this feeling bore later. By the irony, or perhaps the eternal justice, of fate, all the chicanery of Fernando, all the wisdom, the labours, and the fervour of Isabel, brought disaster, ruin, and death to Spain. A thousand times happier would it have been for Castile to have remained isolated in its corner of Europe, untroubled with the complications of vast European connections, rather than to have been dragged by Aragon into a position of responsibility and world-wide ambition for which neither its native resources nor the extent or character of its population befitted it. Its transient grandeur, dearly paid for by long and painful decline, brought to the Spanish people, even while it lasted, neither peace, happiness, nor enduring prosperity; and the king and queen who made Spain great were the worst enemies she ever had.

When Isabel died Fernando's great Italian plans were still unfulfilled. It was vital for him to keep in his hands the resources of Castile, in order that he might carry his objects. But Castile, he knew, was jealous, and the Castilian nobles were eagerly watching for an opportunity of regaining the influence of which Isabel had deprived them; so diplomatic Fernando caused his daughter Juana to be proclaimed at Toledo, in her absence, Queen of Castile, and summoned her and her husband Philip to Spain. This was, however, only preliminary; and before the new sovereign's arrival her father summoned a Cortes at Toro and there promulgated Isabel's will, constituting himself regent, taking care to give out in all directions that his daughter was mad. The nobles, true to their tradition of fishing in troubled waters, protested, and sent an envoy to Philip and Juana in Flanders. The archduke immediately protested against his father-in-

law's action, and requested him to retire to his own kingdom of Aragon. Disappointed in an attempt to obtain surreptitiously the consent of Juana to his regency, Fernando took the extraordinary course of proposing to marry the Beltraneja and to set up her claim to Castile against that of his own daughter. But the poor Beltraneja was not to be lured from her convent by such a trickster as the King of Aragon.

Disappointed in this, he turned to his old enemy, Louis XII, and made a treaty with him against the interests of Philip and Juana, who had thitherto been in close alliance with the French king. A former treaty with Louis XII, for the division of Naples between France and Aragon, had been violated by the latter, and the French had again been expelled, the Neapolitan king himself dethroned, and Gonsalvo de Cordova installed in Naples as viceroy for Fernando. But no sooner did the latter need to check his son-in-law Philip than he coolly made another treaty with Louis XII, undertaking to pay a large indemnity to restore the possessions of all the French subjects in Naples, and to marry the niece of the French king, Germaine de Foix, a charming young French princess, junior in years to the bridegroom's daughters. Needless to say that Fernando, as usual, kept that part of the agreement which suited himself, and no more. But for the time the treaty was a serious blow to Philip, who, unable now to pass through France, hurried by sea to Spain to assert his wife's, or rather his own, right to rule in Castile.

Calling in England on their way, and signing a treaty of alliance with Henry VII, Philip and Juana landed in the north of Spain in June, 1506, accompanied by a force of several thousand Flemings. The Castilian nobles were all in their favour, for they knew they had nothing to hope for from Fernando. The artful old king saw that force was useless, and, as usual, tried cajolery; but Philip was determined that he, and not the King of Aragon, should govern

Castile, and stiffly refused all overtures. Of poor Juana nothing was said. Her husband had hitherto indignantly refuted suggestions that she was mad, but he soon altered his tone when he met his father-in-law. Fernando, in peaceful guise and with a smiling face, came paternally to welcome "his dear children" to their inheritance; for the crafty Aragonese knew when to be humble, and it was then that he was most dangerous. He and Philip were closeted long together without the presence of Juana, and the great minister of Isabel, Cardinal Jimenez de Cisneros, himself stood at the door to warn away intruders. Before the secret conference in the village church of Villafafila was ended Fernando had succeeded in persuading Philip that Juana, whom her father had not seen for two years, was mad; and father and son-in-law came out smiling and embracing, false villains both, to sign a treaty of friendship, in which it seemed as if Fernando had been beaten on all points. *He* wanted nothing but the happiness of his dear children, who should rule in Castile, while he, good, disinterested man, would leave Spain for a time and visit his new kingdom of Naples, which he had never seen.

But there was a secret treaty of which the world knew nothing, to the effect that Juana should be excluded from all share in the government, and that Philip and Fernando—husband and father—should unite their forces, if necessary, to prevent the queen or her adherents from interfering. Fernando, to protect himself in any case, before the ink of his signature was dry solemnly swore before an apostolic notary that the oath that he had taken on the gospels to both treaties had been wrung from him by force, and he secretly protested against his daughter being deprived of her government. Then, with a satisfied conscience, he went on his way to Naples, and Philip of Austria, King of Castile, reigned for the wretched Juana, his wife.

The great Jimenez was at the new sovereign's side, and

ostensibly aided him in his attempt to obtain from the Cortes the recognition of his right to rule independently of Juana. But in this he was unsuccessful, for Juana was Queen of Castile; and Juana and her son Charles alone would the Cortes recognise as their rightful rulers. But Philip's influence over his wife was absolute, and he did as he pleased with the government for two months, to the horror and dismay of Spaniards. Surrounded by Flemings, whose guttural speech, swaggering splendour, and free manners shocked the strait-laced ecclesiastics of the court of Castile, Philip of Austria, ignoring the deep-seated causes which had made Spain what she was—a country whose sole bond of union was the new one of religious intolerance—endeavoured to treat her as he would have treated his rich and enlightened Flanders.

During the later years of Isabel's reign the Inquisition had proceeded from one atrocity to another under the influence of Jimenez, the Archbishop of Toledo, and the terrible Deza, the grand inquisitor who succeeded Torquemada. On the capitulation of Granada Isabel had promised complete tolerance for the Moslem population. The Moors were to be judged by their own laws and to observe their own religion in peace. But the promise had been shamefully broken by the advice of Jimenez. The Jews had gone, and Fernando needed more money. Isabel yearned for fresh spiritual triumphs. Jimenez was proudly indignant that any one should dare to hold an opinion different from his own. The splendid Arab libraries, priceless manuscripts, books gathered from the ancient hoards of the East, from Persia, from Greece, from Syria, books of science, philosophy, and history, sumptuous bindings and triumphs of illumination, were ruthlessly cast to the flames in thousands by this great Christian prelate and true lover of books. But the burning of books was not sufficient to satisfy Jimenez's hate of heterodoxy, and from that he went to the burning of men. The good Archbishop of Granada, Talavera, who was of Jewish descent,

protested, but in vain, and he himself later fell a victim to the persecution of the Holy Office. First forcible conversion, afterward oppression and insult of all that Moslems held dear, drove the Moors to revolt; and then followed the establishment of the Inquisition in all its rigour in Granada, and finally the total abolition of the Moslem faith (1501) on pain of death or immediate exile.*

The heartless barbarities which followed are not to be described. The Moors resisted and were killed, or they accepted baptism, were suspected of a lingering love for their old faith, were captured by the Inquisition, and burned. The Christian Archbishop of Granada himself was prosecuted, and the awful Deza at Granada and the no less dreadful Lucero at Cordova were working their bitter will upon the bodies of men, when Philip of Austria sternly stopped their persecutions and suspended both of them from their functions.

In the meanwhile stern, strong Jimenez stood at the sovereign's side until, only two months after Fernando's departure, Philip, the handsomest young man in Europe, fell mysteriously ill, and died suddenly. Whether he was poisoned by Fernando's orders or by those of the Inquisition it matters not now, but that the old king and Jimenez were fully prepared for his death is certain. Not a word was said about Juana the Mad, for the loss of her idolized husband deprived her temporarily or permanently of what scant wits she had. Jimenez, with a vigour and decision which told of prior arrangement, seized power for the absent Fernando, quelled the

* The unfortunate people, by a refinement of cruelty, were not allowed to take refuge in Africa or any other Moslem land; and though it was stated in the edict that they might sell their property, the export of gold or silver was strictly prohibited, so that they were unable to take with them the proceeds of the sale. As in the case of the Jews, indeed, although an attempt was made to save appearances, the measure was really intended as one of extermination. There are still many Spaniards who applaud this and other similar measures, as tending to the unification of the nation by means of the faith.

nobles and the Cortes, and Fernando in due time came back from Naples and peacefully took possession of the government of Castile for his grandson Charles (August, 1508).

There was some negotiation for getting rid of the poor, semi-distraught Juana by marrying her to Henry VII of England, and her sister Catharine of Aragon served as a matrimonial agent for the occasion; but when Henry Tudor died the pretence was dropped, Juana was shut up in the castle of Tordesillas, and for the rest of her long life knew liberty no more. Betrayed by father, husband, and son in turn, Juana the Mad stands out for all time one of the most pathetic figures of history.

The old king's only son by Germaine de Foix died in his infancy, and the heir to Aragon, Castile, Flanders, Burgundy, the empire, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia was Charles of Austria, the eldest son of Philip and Juana, who had been born in 1500. This at least was the view of Maximilian, the emperor, whose ambition for his house was perhaps not less far-reaching, though less practical, than that of Fernando. The emperor dreamed of universal dominion for his heir. Fernando laboured for the establishment of twin empires, one of which should embrace all central Europe and rest upon Spain; and the other, his favourite project for his younger grandson, should be Aragonese in object; and starting with a kingdom of Italy, including the Tyrol, should extend to the East.* With two such empires working in concert, the rule of Islam was at an end, and the posterity of

* The infamous league of Cambray (1508) between Fernando, Louis XII, the emperor, and Pope Julius had for its real object the partition of the territories of Venice. Fernando, of course, played false, and formed a secret coalition with Venice against France, into which he drew Henry VIII (1511) on the hope of England's recovering Guienne, the intention being to expel the French from Lombardy and to form a large north Italian kingdom of Milan, Venice, and Genóa, which might pass to Fernando's favourite younger grandson, Ferdinand of Austria, who afterward became emperor. The disastrous battle of Ravenna (1512) frustrated this plan.

the house of Aragon would dominate the world. But though Fernando cheated, lied, and intrigued till the last, his ambitious scheme failed.

The great Queen of Castile was dead, and Fernando thought only of Aragonese objects; but the traditional aims of the larger kingdom were not forgotten by others. Jimenez, at his own cost, fitted out powerful expeditions and conquered a great portion of the north coast of Africa (1505–1509), and already the arms of Castile and Leon were being carried across the vast new western continent, which was to acknowledge their sway, by such men as Balboa, Solis, Almagro, Cortes, and Pizarro.

While all this met with but lukewarm support from Fernando, he was eager to increase the influence of Castile in a direction which should bring it into antagonism with France, and so make it subserve his own national objects. Fernando had never lost sight of Navarre, of which, it will be recollected, his father's first wife had been Queen; and in one of the many coalitions against Louis XII, the Navarrese, closely connected with the house of France, had been on the side of the French. The Pope had, at Fernando's request, declared Louis XII schismatic, and had fulminated a bull of excommunication against Navarre (1512). This was a sufficient pretext for the occupation of the country by Fernando, and in the Cortes of Burgos (1515) the ancient little kingdom was incorporated, not with Aragon, but with the realm of Castile, although without losing its autonomy.

This act of spoliation was one of the last of Fernando's evil deeds. Age and his constant labours were telling upon him. Bitterly disappointed that he should after all be succeeded by the Flemish lad, whom he hardly knew, but who, he felt, would not in his vast empire cherish Aragonese objects before all others; distrusted by every living man and woman; himself ungrateful, and suspicious of all those who had served him, from the great captain to the great cardinal,

Fernando felt that, after all, he had failed, so far as Aragon was concerned. If he could have dismembered Spain by leaving his own ancestral kingdom, with its old ambitions, to his favourite grandson Ferdinand, whom he had brought up as an Aragonese, all might be well;* but this, he knew, Charles and Castile would not allow, while his failure to seize north Italy rendered it impossible for him to bequeath to any successor the key of the policy for which he and his ancestors had lived. The wealth and population of Spain would, he saw, be employed in vast European projects, but they would be projects to benefit the possessor of Flanders, the wearer of the imperial crown, the King of Castile, with his great continent of the West and the boundless possibilities of Africa. Aragon, for which he and his father before him had plotted, cheated, lied, and murdered, would sink into a disregarded province, and Fernando the Catholic had lived in vain. Thus, unmourned, with all his illusions vanished and all his hopes frustrated, the last separate King of Aragon died miserably at Madrigalejo, in January, 1516, leaving Jimenez Regent of Castile, and his own bastard son, the Archbishop of Zaragoza, Regent of Aragon pending the arrival in Spain of his heir, Charles of Austria.

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* He endeavoured by his will to leave the regency of Castile and Aragon to his grandson Ferdinand, whose age was only nine at the time, in the hope, doubtless, that Charles would live in Germany or Flanders, and that his brother would remain permanently regent in Spain. But the Council of Castile refused to consent to this. Jimenez, who was practically in banishment at Alcalá, was obviously the only man in Spain who could hold the reins firmly until the king arrived, and the cardinal, whom Fernando hated for a Castilian, was appointed. In his dying letter to his elder grandson, Charles, he emphasized the fact that he could have disposed of his kingdoms as he pleased, but that he had left them to Charles out of love for him, and he begged in return that the new king would be kind to his widow, Queen Germaine (de Foix).

## A. D. 1460 TO A. D. 1520

### *Summary of progress during this period*

This is by far the most important period in the history of the Spanish people. Astute sovereigns had appeared and joined the two sets of realms at a period when the whole nation was yearning for civilized order and to be saved from the lawless nobles, who, deprived of legislative power, could only appeal to violence to establish the predominance they sought. The strength of the federated towns was cleverly utilized by the sovereigns for the purpose of restoring the rule of law; and when the nobles had been made into courtiers and shorn of their strength, the process of emasculating the representative power of the towns was proceeded with, until at the end of the period under review it was ready for the deathblow of Villalar. The administrative and judicial systems were revolutionized, and ever-increasing power was centred in the hands of the sovereign until Castile became a despotism. Of more importance still, in some respects, was the expulsion of the last vestige of the Moorish power from Spain, and the deliberate adoption by Fernando and Isabel of a policy of religious persecution, in order to give to their peoples a solidarity which by natural racial and political fusion could have been obtained only by centuries of waiting. This, while it gave to the sovereigns a firm, united instrument to be wielded for their vast ambitions and aims, doomed the Spanish people to two centuries of vicious progress on a false path, and, by affording them a unity which in the nature of things could not be permanent, enabled them to impose themselves upon the world to an extent out of all proportion to their capacity, resources, and real strength. In sixty years several racially unamalgamated peoples had been turned from a condition of impotent anarchy to the most powerful nation in Europe. Fernando had dragged Aragon, and Castile after her, into the vortex of central European politics; Naples and Sicily had become appanages of his crown, and the vast continent of America belonged to Castile; Navarre and Granada had been absorbed, and at the end of the period now under review Spain was already becoming the beast of burden and the milch cow of the greatest empire the world had seen since the palmiest days of Rome. Without unity of purpose between the several races and systems of the Peninsula this would have been

impossible. For the purpose of attaining such unity of purpose the fires of the Inquisition were lit, and Spain was started on the broad downward path that looked so splendid, but which inevitably led to ignorance, poverty, and national ruin. Already industry had decayed and idleness had taken its place. The persecution of the craftsmen, the expulsion of the Jews, the bigotry of the churchmen, had already made trade and work disgraceful, as being the special concerns of races whose orthodoxy was questionable, and this at a time when new America was clamouring for manufactured goods which Spain was not ready to supply. The glitter of the Spanish Empire was already dazzling men's eyes to the flames which were to consume all that was best in the nation and leave naught but ashes behind.

Socially and in literature, at this period, Spain, like the rest of the world, received her new light from Italy, and was making good progress in adapting the work of foreign scholars to the Spanish trend of thought when the blight of the Inquisition fell, and gradually thereafter all productions but those of pure imagination languished. But even so, the strong wave of the new learning which was sweeping over Europe produced its effect even in Spain. The Spanish universities were revived and newly endowed, and culture again became the fashion. Jimenez's new University of Alcalá received assistance from scholars of all nations, and the compilation of the great Complutensian polyglot Bible occupied the labours of the best biblical authorities, Jewish as well as Christian, in the world.

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*Summary of what Spain did for the world in this period*

She patronized the discovery of America, and by the hardihood, thirst for adventure, fanatical crusading zeal, and cupidity of her people, explored and opened out in a marvellously short time a great part of the continent. Indirectly she served the world, to her own detriment, by her inability and unwillingness to rise to the occasion industrially, whereby the flood of gold and silver which came from her new territories irresistibly drifted to other countries, while she herself remained poor. Spanish gold and silver coin in a few years was plentiful in every country but in Spain itself. Intellectually, her greatest service to the world at this period was the production of the Complutensian

polyglot, and of Celestina, one of the first specimens, if not the first specimen, of modern dramatic composition.

Her services in finally ousting the Crescent from western Europe, and, by expelling thousands of skilful and industrious Jews to enrich other countries, are counterbalanced by the irreparable injury she did to human advancement by fusing her people into a temporary unity by the fires of religious bigotry.

# CHAPTER IX

## SPAIN AND THE EMPIRE—GREATNESS AND DECAY

Effects upon Spain of the rule of Fernando and Isabel—Administrative and judicial systems—The Inquisition—The Cortes—The religious bond of unity—Jimenez—Spanish literature under the "Catholic kings"—The growth of luxury—Unwise fiscal measures—Effects upon Spain's foreign relations of the policy of the "Catholic kings"—The coming of Charles to Spain—The Cortes of Corunna—The rising of the "commoners"—The Germania—The demands of the Cortes—Villalar—Charles the Emperor at the head of Catholic Christendom—Wars in Italy, France, and Germany—Heavy burdens on Castile—Remonstrances of Cortes—Continued wars—Charles and the papacy—Philip, Regent of Spain—Charles's plans for the aggrandizement of Spain—The English marriage—Accession of Philip—His policy and ambitions.

It is no overstatement to say that the position of Spain, both nationally and internationally, entirely changed during the reigns of Fernando and Isabel. Under a succession of weak Trastamara kings, Castile, at the accession of the queen, had fallen a prey to almost complete anarchy. The nobles, as we have seen, had none of the cohesion needed for the formation of an oligarchy, for they had never constituted a concrete class, but were split up infinitely into leagues, each member of which aimed simply at his own aggrandizement. Though they were thus too much divided and too weak to impose upon the country an aristocratic form of government, they had been strong enough to divest the crown of most of the possessions which gave it paramount power, and to corrupt the springs of the municipal representative system,

which for over two centuries had been the mainstay of national rule. The intrusion of the nobles into the towns, the creation of noble hereditary alcaldes and councillors, and the appointment by the crown of corregidores, had greatly weakened the power of the towns, while the reduction of the number of cities sending deputies to Cortes to 17, which Isabel increased to 18 by adding Granada, rendered it more easy to manipulate both the election of representatives and the decisions of the legislature itself.*

With the accession of Isabel the crown obtained the upper hand. By the wholesale abrogation of grants, the forcible suppression of noble feuds by means of the Holy Brotherhood, the destruction of the castles, and the terror which the Inquisition held over the heads of nobles, most of whom had Jewish or Moorish blood in their veins, completely cowed the great families who had previously rendered government impossible. The conquest of Granada, too, greatly added to the material resources of the crown; and the increased prosperity of the towns, owing to the greater security enjoyed, and the promotion of industry and trade, also allowed of larger supplies being voted to the treasury, and the consequent accretion of power to the sovereign. The strength and good fortune of Isabel, therefore, finally brought the Castilian nobles to the heel of the sovereign; made them courtiers, officers, and ministers, but always humble servants of the monarch who was strong enough to break them.

Both Fernando and Isabel † hated representative institu-

* The mode of election varied greatly, according to the terms of the charter, as in England. In some towns lots were cast to decide which two members of the town council should go to the Cortes; in others the method was to choose two gentlemen of the upper class by rotation; while in certain towns the head of a noble family or the crown had the right of nomination. Generally speaking, however, in the later times the representatives were officially nominated members of the town council, very often lawyers.

† The queen specially detested the really efficient representative system of Aragon and Catalonia, in which the three classes were

tions, and though they utilized the towns in their first struggle with the Castilian nobles, they called Cortes together as rarely as possible (there was no sitting between 1482 and 1498), and rendered the proceedings as perfunctory as they could. The crown could raise no new tax without consent of the Cortes, but it could demand supply to cover several years; and as the salutary rule of redress before supply did not obtain, the legislative power of the Cortes consisted only of presentments or petitions, which the sovereign might disregard if he pleased. But, withal, the Cortes of Castile, although now on the down grade, were not yet effete, and exerted their right of remonstrance to the full.

It was, however, by the creation of a new administrative machinery in Castile that Fernando and Isabel made the greatest change in the internal government of the country. The royal council, as has already been explained, consisted of nobles and prelates summoned by the sovereign for consultation, to which during the height of the municipal power members of the middle classes had been added. These latter, however, had disappeared before Isabel's time, and had been replaced by lawyers for the purpose of advising on judicial appeals. Fernando and Isabel divided this council into three: a council of state, or privy council, chosen personally by the king to advise him especially on foreign affairs when he desired; a council of finance, to check and supervise the expenditure; and, above all, the Council of Castile. This latter was the great engine of government, by which it was intended to supplant the power of the Cortes. The internal government of the kingdom, both administrative and judicial, was practically in its hands, and on the sovereign's death it became the supreme power until the accession of his successor. It consisted of the sovereign, an acting president,

present. On one occasion, referring to some outspoken demand of the Aragonese Cortes, she said: "Aragon does not belong to us; we shall have to conquer it."

always a great prelate, nine lawyers, and three nobles, and had the appointment and supervision of judges all over Castile and Leon. It employed a body of travelling inspectors to inquire into abuses or neglect of the town magistrates, and other officers to watch the due and just collection of taxes and to report upon the condition of roads, bridges, and fortresses. This council in session formed the supreme court of appeal, and in addition to it there were two courts of appeal, dealing in sections with civil and criminal causes respectively in Valladolid and Granada, and local tribunals of appeal in Galicia and Seville. Not only did the Council of Castile thus supervise all internal administration, but it had the extraordinary power of enacting or repealing laws by a two-thirds majority with the assent of the sovereign.*

To these three principal councils may be added the Council of the Inquisition; the Council of Aragon, consisting of Aragonese members to advise the king on the administration of that kingdom; the Council of the Military Orders, to administer the property which the crown had taken from the orders; the Council of the Crusade Bull, to administer the special ecclesiastical fund so called, which was derived from the sale in Spain of papal indulgences; and shortly afterward, in the reign of Charles V, the Council of the Indies, for the management of colonial affairs. It will thus be seen that in civil and judicial administration anarchy had given place to order during the reign of the "Catholic kings" in Castile. The finances also were placed on a more stable basis than hitherto, although the absence of any idea of economical science prevented the abandonment of the deplorable errors which did so much to cause the final ruin of Spain. The mines and the sale of salt were monopolies of the crown of Castile, and produced still a considerable revenue, as did the feudal lands and tributes attached to the sovereignty, which

* Although its acts had to be confirmed when Cortes was next in session.

Isabel resumed. But the most productive and at the same time the most destructive tax was the alcabala, or tithe, upon all sales. This was by favour frequently commuted in special towns, which raised the amount by a poll tax and paid it in a lump sum; but in any case it succeeded in destroying Spanish industry. There was also an ad valorem customs duty of about 12 per cent on imports and exports; and, finally, there was the supply voted by Cortes, and always granted, though usually with much grumbling, of 300,000,000 maravedis, spread over three years, which was raised in quotas by the townships and paid to the royal treasury.*

But what was of far greater permanent national importance even than the administration was the unification of the nation on doctrinal lines, effected by Fernando and Isabel. Castilians hated Aragonese, Catalans detested Castilians, Navarrese had nothing whatever in common with either nation. Galicians were a race akin to the Portuguese, but had no fellow-feeling with the half-Moorish Andalusians and Valencians. There was, indeed, still no Spain, either ethnologically or politically, for the country consisted of half a score of separate dominions, each with its own laws, customs, traditions, prejudices, and racial distinctions. The bureaucratic unity of the Romans was no longer possible, for out of the reconquest had grown separate nations; but at

* It became later, in the time of Philip II, a regular custom to demand an extraordinary supply of 150,000,000 maravedis in addition; and this sum of 450,000,000, payable in three years, was the amount which Philip II and his successors insisted upon regarding as a fixed tribute, to be simply ratified from year to year by the standing committee of Cortes, which continued to sit in the capital, although the assembly itself was only summoned on special occasions, such as the recognition of an heir to the crown or of a new monarch, or when extra aid was required. The revenues derived from the dominions of the Aragonese crown were quite insignificant, and there was always so much trouble and recrimination before supply could be obtained from that quarter, that Fernando and his successors summoned the Aragonese, Catalan, and Valencian Cortes as rarely as possible, and depended mainly upon the overtaxed resources of Castile.

least the various peoples, the autonomous dominions, the semi-independent towns, might be held together by the strong bond of religious unity; and with this object the Inquisition was established, as a governmental system, to be developed later into a political engine. To this extent the consolidation of Spain is due to the Catholic kings, although it is more than questionable whether the unity so purchased was worth the price. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that the policy of persecution and wholesale expulsion adopted by Fernando, Isabel, and Jimenez was dictated alone by blind zeal or stupid ignorance, for they were all of them very far from being blind or stupid. They saw that if Spain was to be powerful for the ends they aimed at she must be solid; and recognising that natural causes made unification on the ordinary lines slow, if not impossible, they deliberately turned the growing forces of bigotry into a particular channel, and sanctified cruelty in order to attain their object. Thus it is that Spain appears for the first time in the concert of modern European nations a power whose very existence in a concrete form depends upon its rigid doctrinal Catholicism. We shall see how this brought her into antagonism with all that was free and progressive in Europe, caused her to become the champion of religious intolerance, while the possession of Flanders by her sovereign made it necessary to keep friendly with England, the leader of religious emancipation from Rome.

Socially, Spain, like the rest of Europe, now began to feel the effects of the new life that was coursing through the veins of the world. The old culture had passed through its period of decay, but the seeds that it had left behind it were bringing forth fresh blossom. As we have seen, the learning of the ancients had been cherished in Spain long after it was dead elsewhere. Now it came back to her again; changed in colour, in form, even sometimes in aim, from Italy, from France, and from Germany. As before, Spaniards, a people of overpowering literary instinct, were eager to welcome it,

and, but for the conditions of their unification, they might again have led the world for a time in learning and letters.

Isabel herself was educated by churchmen before the change came; but at least she spared no pains in making her children wise and accomplished, and brought from Italy and France the most learned men of the age for the purpose. The Spanish universities, already famous, developed under the patronage of Isabel and the zeal of Jimenez in a marvellous way. Fresh colleges sprang up in old foundations, new universities were endowed and new chairs established. Learning became the universal fashion once more, and all gentle Spain flocked into the schools. Jimenez's ever-famous foundation of Alcalá remains the crowning glory of his life, and partly condones for the blind fanaticism which made him burn the Arab books at Granada; and to his lasting credit must be placed also the work of his so-called Complutensian polyglot Bible, in which the Scriptures were edited from many ancient codices in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, by the greatest biblical scholars in Europe—among whom three at least were of Jewish race—and printed at Alcalá under Jimenez's supervision. Early in Isabel's reign, too, secular literature made a new start with the introduction of printing into Spain, and for the next few years translations of Dante and Boccaccio vied in number with editions of Amadis and the newer books of chivalry, which came fast from the press to eager readers. Native writers of prose and verse of various degrees of goodness abounded again, and one poet at least, Juan de Encina, lives for ever in his numerous lyrics, and especially as the first Spaniard to popularize and turn the attention of his countrymen into the channel in which they afterward excelled over all others—namely, the writing of comedies. More or less dramatic recitations had been written and repeated in Spain centuries before, and a few years before Isabel's accession Gomez Manrique had written a court masque. Juan de Encina took a step onward and produced many

simple but unquestionably dramatic eclogues, sacred and profane, in which both the action and the argument are developed in a regular story.* The famous Celestina, a complete modern drama—or novel in dramatic shape—was published some years afterward (in 1499), and is stated to be the work of a certain Fernando de Rojas.† It has retained its hold to the present day, though extremely crude in construction, and it is rightly considered to be the first legitimate dramatic work in Spanish, apart from pastoral dialogues and sacred autos.

But unhappily this nascent literary activity and thirst for knowledge were nipped in the bud by the growing power of the Inquisition, and though classical learning was patronized and Italian literature encouraged at court, freedom of expression was gradually cramped, science and philosophic speculation were frowned down, and Spanish literature again languished, except in certain directions which will be specified in a later chapter.

The growth of luxury and splendour in Europe advanced rapidly with the spread of the influence of the Italian Renaissance, and Spain was, as usual, by no means behind the rest

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* The Egloga de Fileno, for instance, tells a story of hopeless pastoral love and suicide, and Cristino y Febea relates the temptation and backsliding of a devotee.

† Mr. Fitzmaurice Kelly is of this opinion, and he is certainly confirmed to some extent by the edition of Celestina, which I have seen, printed in 1599, in which the first letters of the introductory verses form a sort of acrostic, which reads, "*El bachiller Fernando de Rojas acabó la comedia de Calisto y Melibea é fué nacido en la puebla de Montalvan.*" This, however, only says that Rojas *finished* the work. The story of this famous book tells of the employment of a wicked procuress by a despairing lover to win his mistress for him. She succeeds, but the whole of the principal *dramatis personæ* come to a tragical end. The object is to contrast vice with virtue. The piece is too long for stage representation entire, and consists of 21 acts; but innumerable adaptations of it have been seen on the Spanish stage from the time it was written to the present day. The full name of the work is The Tragicomedy of Calisto and Melibea.

of the world in her desire for elegance. The dress of Isabel herself was magnificent beyond belief; the glittering gold brocades of the Moriscos of Valencia and Granada were famous throughout Europe for church adornment and the garments of fine ladies, and the demand for them both in Spain and abroad brought great prosperity to the Spanish towns as soon as Isabel had overcome the anarchy which had prevailed. One Cortes after the other deplored that even poor labouring people continued to dress as finely as people of rank, "whereby they not only squander their own estate, but bring poverty and want to all." But when the Catholic kings found that gold was being used in such large quantities in the manufacture of tissues, much of which were exported, they came down with a ferocious pragmatic (1495) absolutely prohibiting not only the wearing of sumptuous apparel, but forbidding under most cruel penalties the introduction, sale, or manufacture of textures containing gold or silver, and more especially the gold embroideries which brought so large a revenue to the craftsmen of Valencia, Granada, and Seville.

Fashion dies hard, and the poor people whose industry was being ruined struggled on, endeavouring to find substitutes for the gold tissues and embroideries with which, if they had been allowed to make them, they would have supplied the world to the great profit of Spain. It is true that gold thread might not be used, but the Cortes of 1498 complained bitterly that the weavers were introducing all sorts of novelties in the manufacture of brocades, velvets, and silks, "whereby the people were tempted to squander their money on useless finery," and the "Catholic kings" issued an order the next year forbidding the manufacture, sale, or use of silk for garments at all, except as lining, in order to prevent money from being sent out of the country to pay for raw silk, as only a portion of that used had been grown in Spain. No account was taken of the growing export of the fine tissues, which far more than

repaid the cost of the raw material introduced, and the industry of silk weaving was crippled so greatly that it never entirely recovered. Kings might, and did, continue to issue edicts forbidding sumptuous garb; but as they and their court lived in a perfect blaze of splendour, especially after the coming of Philip of Austria, it was quite impossible to prevent the wearing of fine stuffs by those who could afford them; and though in compliance with the petition of the Cortes of Burgos in 1515, Fernando's regency positively prohibited the wearing of silk at all, except by people of high rank, and even they were not allowed to wear gold or silver thread in any form, the only result was that French and Flemish stuffs were largely imported into Spain, while Spanish weavers were starving. Great as was the economical folly of this—and also of Fernando's financial system of anticipating and farming his revenue—the king appears in other directions to have been in advance of his age in the protection of commerce, prohibiting among other things the export of Spanish produce in foreign ships when a native ship could be obtained, and endeavouring on another occasion to obtain from other sovereigns an agreement exempting private property from seizure in reprisal for the acts of a government.

It will be seen that the effect of the energy of Fernando and Isabel upon the internal condition of the country was marvellous. They had succeeded in changing Castile in thirty years from a state of anarchy to one of law, discipline, and order; the ruffianly nobility had been turned into sleek and obedient courtiers; the dissipated and insolent churchmen had been firmly reduced to decency and humility; * a perma-

* This was in a large measure owing to the famous Cardinal Jimenez, who on the death of Mendoza, "the Cardinal of Spain," was raised to the archbishopric of Toledo by Isabel, much against the wish of Fernando. Jimenez was a Franciscan friar of great austerity, and was determined to purge the monastic orders of the scandalous license which disgraced them. The general of the Franciscans, and the Pope himself (1495), violently opposed Jimenez's drastic reforms.

nent armed force at the disposal of the crown had taken the place of chance contingents of untrained peasants brought by doubtful tributaries; a standard of justice and good administration had been set up, which at least was theoretically perfect; and, above all, the inhabitants of Spain had become a united people, held together by fierce fervency in the formulæ of Rome.

Great as this internal change was, the alteration effected in the relations of Spain with foreign countries was still more remarkable. Fernando's guileful diplomacy had been directed to the promotion of the traditional objects of the crown of Aragon, with which Castile had no concern. Its effect was to swamp Aragon in the larger Castile, and to curse both realms with foreign obligations in every corner of Europe, which, though beneficial neither to Aragon nor Castile, ultimately dragged Spain to ruin. It tied the millstone of Flanders round her neck, and saddled upon her people, still racially unamalgamated, the crushing burden of the empire, in the hands of an emperor whose German territories were poor and insignificant. It made Spain the mainstay of the extreme Catholic party throughout Christendom at a time when the mighty struggle between freedom and enslavement of thought was to be fought out; it linked the maintenance of bigoted uniformity with the existence of the nation as a great power; and, while imposing this upon her, it made it vital for her—

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But Isabel defied Alexander VI, and Jimenez triumphed, decency and order being forced upon the unwilling monks, thousands of whom fled from the cloisters. Jimenez then took in hand the secular clergy, who were scandalously ignorant and immoral, hardly making a pretence, indeed, of fulfilling their vows. Against the open opposition of most of the bishops and clergy, and of Rome itself, Jimenez and the queen persevered, until the Spanish secular priests, as well as the cloistered clergy, had been forced into decency. It is unquestionable that the worst abuses in the Church of which the early reformers complained had been purged from the Spanish Church by Isabel, and that, at a time when the rest of the clergy of Europe were grossly licentious, the Spanish priests were generally virtuous and devout.

as the possessor of the Netherlands and the enemy of France —to remain friendly with England, who became the leader of revolt against the ideas upon which the whole edifice of Spain was based.

To Castile, especially, Fernando's diplomacy was disastrous. At a time when the whole of north Africa was ripe for her occupation and the vast continent of America needed every man and every ducat she could spare for its due colonization and administration, Castile, which had no quarrel with France, was drained of blood and treasure to exhaustion to fight her for the empire throughout Europe, to force upon foreign peoples a religious yoke they loathed, and to fasten upon Italy and Flanders a political despotism which reacted upon Castile itself and completed her own bondage, while from it she gained nothing. It will thus be seen that, though the policy of Fernando and Isabel had brought order to Spain itself by substituting the despotism of the crown for the warring forces of democracy and aristocracy, it had, in order to serve Fernando's Aragonese views, brought the nation unnecessarily into the forefront of the coming great struggle in central Europe, in which for herself she had nothing to gain and everything to lose. There was only one course by which the danger and disaster of such a position could have been avoided, namely, one of modest renunciation and national concentration. We shall see that pride, bigotry, and ambition of Spanish rulers and people made such a course impossible, and ultimate catastrophe became inevitable. That it was deferred so long was owing alone to the natural tenacity of the race and the vast resources drawn from America.

This, briefly, was the position of affairs when Fernando the Catholic died. The young foreign heir, Charles, was away in his native Flanders; his mother, the unhappy Juana, was shut up in her prison at Tordesillas; and it seemed to the Castilian nobles a good opportunity for once more trying their hand at weakening the crown for their own ends. But the stern

friar Jimenez, in his squalid, darned Franciscan frock, was more than a match for them and their puppet, the young Ferdinand, and held a firm grip until the new king should come. Failing in their first efforts, the nobles got the ear of Charles himself at Brussels, and the king's spiritual tutor, Adrian of Utrecht—afterward Pope Adrian VI—was sent to share Jimenez's regency. But the great Franciscan would have none of him, and thrust him aside, while complaining thus early to the new king that Spanish revenue was being used for Flemish purposes. Charles, though he was but a boy of seventeen, meant to be master himself, and now and for the rest of his life his policy was to divide others in order that he might rule.

He was a Fleming, speaking little Spanish, and had no intention of allowing himself to fall under the influence of the masterful churchman who ruled Spain. For many months he deferred coming to his new kingdoms, while his subjects, jealous and hating foreigners, as we have seen, grew more and more discontented at the idea of a foreign absentee sovereign. Whispers, too, ran that Juana was not so mad as was made out; and when, at length, Charles and his rude, greedy gang of Flemings came to Spain, he dismissed Cardinal Jimenez * rudely and ungratefully without even meeting him, Castilian distrust burned more fiercely than ever. Charles entered Valladolid in November, 1517, amid a frowning populace, chafing against the foreign ministers who surrounded the foreign king. William of Croy made prime adviser; Sauvage created chancellor of Spain; De Croy's boy nephew appointed to succeed Jimenez in the greatest episcopal position in the world, the see of Toledo; Flemings everywhere swaggering, drinking, monopolizing all posts of profit, and insulting Castilians, who had been taught to consider themselves the salt of the earth—this was surely not to be silently borne.

* The cardinal died immediately afterward, it was said of grief, but more probably of poison.

At the Cortes of Valladolid, in February, 1518, the opposition blazed out. Charles had already called himself king. He was made to understand that he was no king in Castile until he had sworn to respect her privileges, and, above all, while his mother lived. So the town representatives would only take the oath to him as joint ruler with Juana,* and not that until he had sworn to respect the rights of Castile. They voted a grudging subsidy, but the king was told that he must learn Spanish, must marry and live in Spain, and must appoint no more foreigners to offices.

Aragon and Catalonia were stiffer still, and treated the new sovereign with a haughty independence which was increased by his breaking his pledge and sending to Flanders his young brother Ferdinand, whom the Aragonese had looked upon as one of themselves. While Charles was thus at issue with his subjects, growing daily more unpopular, his grandfather Maximilian the Emperor died (January, 1519), and left to him the vast ambition of reaching universal power. The first struggle was for the imperial crown itself. Francis I was obliged to compete with Charles, for the forces of Spain and the houses of Burgundy and Hapsburg were now all ranged against France.† But in the midst of his bitter dispute with the stubborn Catalans in Barcelona Charles learned, in June, 1519, that the intrigues of his friends had been successful, and that he, a lad of nineteen, was emperor, as well as King of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, and Naples—the most powerful monarch in the world in appearance, but one

* With the condition also that, if Juana should recover her reason, she alone should reign, Charles being simply prince.

† Charles, on his way to Spain, had concluded a peace with Francis I at Noyon, by which the young king was to marry Louise Claude de France, who, however, died in 1518. Notwithstanding this hollow peace, it was evident that there must be a trial of strength between the two great rival powers for the mastery of central Europe. All the points of difference between them again became acute with the death of Maximilian the Emperor.

whose material resources depended mainly upon Castile and Flanders.

During the rest of his life Charles's principal trouble was to get money from Spain for objects outside the Peninsula, and he began to experience it thus early. Money he must have even to take possession of his new empire. Castile, as well as Aragon, was in a ferment. Charles had already broken all the promises he had made at Valladolid; he now called himself King of the Romans, and "Majesty" rather than joint King of Castile and Aragon with "Highness" for his style; and when, in his hurry to embark for Flanders and to obtain money for his purposes, he summoned the Castilian Cortes in far-off Santiago, outside the realm of Castile,* the opposition of the towns became outspoken. Toledo took the lead by formulating a spirited demand that Charles should not leave the kingdom, should not raise money for expenditure elsewhere, and should dismiss all foreigners. Many other towns adhered to Toledo's representation, and several of them declined even to reply to the summons, which they regarded as unconstitutional. On his way through Valladolid the king was met with a threatening tumult, from which he only escaped by hasty flight, and every large town on his road to Galicia presented its remonstrance at his voyage. When Charles met the sulky Cortes at Santiago, and afterward at Corunna, the deputies who attended at first declined to vote supplies until the king promised to come back within three years, and to refrain from appointing foreigners to posts of

* Sandoval says that the reason for summoning the Cortes at so distant a place was De Croy's fear for his own safety. He was so unpopular that his murder was, he knew, not improbable, and he wished to be near the sea in order that flight might be easy. At the first series of sessions at Santiago the Cortes was so evenly divided that it was impossible to raise supply. The assembly was then adjourned to Corunna, where Charles was to embark, and this gave time for the deputies to be influenced by bribes and threats until a fair majority was insured.

profit. Petitions rained upon him, begging him to moderate his expenditure and that of his Flemings, to speak Spanish, to compel the Inquisition to proceed in accordance with the law, to forbid the repeal of laws except by the Cortes, and much else to the same effect. Charles kept up a smiling face and bribed right royally until he had prevailed upon the members to vote the money he needed,* and then he embarked (May 20th), leaving the deputies to face their infuriated constituents as best they might. Simultaneously with the king's departure the storm burst. Proud Toledo was first to raise the cry "Long live the king! Death to his bad ministers!" and soon every great town in Castile was ablaze with wrath against foreigners, the court, and the Government officers. There is no doubt that the nobles and higher clergy at first fomented the popular rising, for Juan de Padilla and Pedro Laso de la Vega, two aristocrats of Toledo, were the first leaders. But the nobility were timid, for they had felt the heavy hand of the sovereign before, and the democratic element soon distanced them, especially in the industrial towns, which overthrew the Government and erected fresh councils, mainly of artisans, from which in some cases the noble classes were rigidly excluded. The fresh taxes imposed by Charles, the oppression of the Flemish ministers, and the absence of the king were the immediate and ostensible pretexts for the outburst; but really it was a political and social struggle, which had long been in unconscious preparation. The nobles, now that it was too late, saw that they were powerless against the crown without the aid of the townsmen, and endeavoured to make common cause with them for their own ends. The middle-class burgesses, on the other hand, had a long account to settle with the nobles; they were angry at the growing corruption which the gentry and the crown had introduced into the municipalities and the Cortes, and

* The deputies for Toro, Salamanca, Madrid, Murcia, Cordova, and one Leonese finally voted against the grant.

they determined to re-establish the supremacy of the towns without the participation of the nobles. But there was a third element which now for the first time made itself felt. We have seen that the craftsmen and peasants, mostly of mixed blood, had hitherto taken only a silent part, and had been oppressed both by the gentry and middle-class employers. Statutes of labour, prohibition of combination, fixed wages and compulsory work, brutal vagrancy laws and tyrannical restrictions of all sorts, had kept the workers mere serfs, and this was the element which now became uppermost in the turmoil.

More particularly was this the case in the rising in the kingdom of Valencia (the Germania), which preceded and outlasted the rising of the commons of Castile. In Valencia the artisans had been temporarily armed to resist a threatened Moorish incursion, and the trade guilds had formed a regular military confederation. Charles had offended the governing classes and Cortes of Valencia by failing to go thither and take the oath as king before he departed, and he and his representative, Cardinal Adrian, had consequently pandered to the armed plebeians. Thus encouraged, the artisans broke out. They usurped the government and formed a permanent revolutionary committee of 13 workmen in the capital, and similar subsidiary committees were constituted in other towns.* The nobles and gentry throughout the kingdom were massacred, except those who took refuge in Denia or Morella, and Valencia became a prey to an anarchical mob,

* This committee of workingmen passed governing acts in plenty, all tending to an impossible democratic ideal. One of them was to the effect that whenever a workingman was executed for any crime whatever a member of the noble class should be hanged at the same time. It may be remarked that at the present day social antagonism between the classes is still more conspicuous in the kingdom of Valencia and in Barcelona than elsewhere in Spain, and it was here that the strength of the cantonal insurrection in 1873 was the greatest. Future serious disturbance in Spain is likely to find its focus in this part of the country and its root in social discontent.

which daily grew in violence and ferocity, to the despair even of those who had first initiated the rising. Here no gentry aided the revolution, though many clergymen incited the fanaticism of the crowd to murder wholesale the unfortunate Morisco peasants who tilled the lands of the nobles.* At length, in 1521, some of the nobles, with the aid of troops raised in other provinces, stormed and captured the city of Valencia, amid scenes of awful carnage. The velvet-weaver Peris, the leader of the revolt, surprised the victors, and indiscriminate slaughter in the streets ensued, Peris being killed. Jativa and Alcira held out for the Germania for three years longer, but with their fall, in 1525, the Valencian rising of workers ended, to leave no enduring trace.

Far different was it with the more serious rising of the commons of Castile. The return of the deputies from the Cortes of Corunna was the signal for the outburst of violence. At Segovia both the deputies were hanged at the gates of the city by the infuriated cloth workers, and then from town to town through the Castiles the revolt spread. In Toro, Avila, Cuenca, and Madrid blood flowed in the streets, and in most places the nobles began to discover that they had made a false move, and had let loose forces they could not control. The semisacred character of the monarch protected the crown at first from attack, but when the weak Cardinal

* The case of these Moriscos was especially hard. They had in most cases fought bravely in defence of their masters' property, attacked by the Germania, and when the latter was victorious Christian baptism was forced upon whole populations of these industrious people. Even after their baptism many hundreds of them were slaughtered; but on the final defeat of the Germaneros the Moors that remained naturally returned to their original faith. The Inquisition then treated them as renegades, and the emperor upheld the cruel decision. Notwithstanding the appeals of the Council of Aragon and many Valencian magnates, the sentence was enforced: death or compulsory rebaptism. Many of the Moors retired into the mountains and withstood the royal troops, an intermittent war continuing until 1526, when the rebels were beaten and slaughtered by Charles's German troops.

Adrian, the regent, attempted to repress the rising by sheer force of arms, civil war with all its recklessness of result broke out. Medina del Campo, the great commercial and banking centre of Spain, the emporium of cloths, silks, and grain for the whole Peninsula and beyond, as well as being one of the principal arsenals, was burned and sacked by the cardinal's troops—it was said, by accident. But in any case the widespread loss and ruin it caused brought about a hatred so deep and universal against the foreigner that the revolt now swept all before it. "The Holy Junta," with Padilla and other gentlemen as leaders, was formed in Avila, and deposed the regent Adrian and his council, constituting the revolutionary Junta the supreme power, in the names of Juana and Charles. Juana was at Tordesillas, and the poor creature suddenly became the centre of the intrigue. She was not mad, said the revolutionaries, and at least she was a Spaniard and understood their tongue. Cardinal Adrian, too, forgot her madness, and hurried to Tordesillas and begged for her confirmation of his regency. She hesitated, and the royal council was summoned to her prison palace to advise her. While they were in session Juan de Padilla and the commoners surprised and captured them all, and in his turn he prayed for the queen's confirmation of his authority. Again the "mad" Juana diplomatically asked for information and advice from the Holy Junta, which met at Tordesillas, but failed to persuade her to affix her signature to the decree. She sympathized with the commoners, said the latter, and the people for a time believed them and clamoured for Juana, their lawful queen. This was the chance of her life, if she was sane, but she failed to take it; events soon surged past her prison house and left her to oblivion again.

In the uncertainty caused by Juana's vacillation the nobles who still stood by the revolt saw their chance. It was plain to them that if the revolution was successful with its present programme, it was the burgesses, and not the no-

bility, who would gain; so they promoted the division which ended in disaster. An address to Charles was prepared, embodying all the grievances that had been presented by Cortes in the past, and praying for remedy. They begged that foreigners should be excluded from offices, that foreign-made cloths should be subject to the same control as Spanish stuffs, that no precious metal should be allowed to leave Spain, and that no cattle should be exported; that the whole trade of America should be centred in Seville; that the ecclesiastical courts should not be allowed to trench on civil affairs; that the expenditure of the court, especially in eating and drinking, should be rigidly reduced; that the administration, civil, religious, and judicial, should be purified; and much more to a similar effect. All this was quite in the order of things. Every Cortes had asked this much, without, in many cases, great attention being paid to them; but the Santa Junta went beyond this, and formulated a set of revolutionary constitutional demands. It was asked that each enfranchised township should send three representatives, chosen respectively by the gentry, the clergy, and the commons, the members to be absolutely inviolable, to vote strictly as directed by their constituents, and to suffer death if they received a gratuity from the crown. The assembly was to meet at least every three years, without summons, and to control its own officers and proceedings, while the Cortes of Santiago and Corunna were to be declared unconstitutional and their votes annulled. The lands of the nobles were to be no longer exempt from taxation; the nobles themselves were not to be employed in financial positions; and the king was warned to create no more privileged nobles. The cardinal regent and all his officers and the Council of Castile were to be dismissed, and Charles himself was enjoined to return to Spain, marry, and reside in the country.

This petition, to which Charles did not even vouchsafe a reply, drove the nobles to the side of the king; and the

latter drew them to him by adding the popular Velasco, Constable of Castile, and Henriquez, the admiral, to Adrian's regency. Velasco carried Burgos in his hand, and the city returned to its allegiance. The gentry on the side of the revolt, especially Pedro Laso de la Vega, endeavoured to strengthen their own section by enlisting as commander of their forces Don Pedro Giron, heir of Count de Ureña, in place of the popular patriot Juan de Padilla. The new commander was a traitor, and withdrew his army as the regents' troops approached Tordesillas, which town, with the unhappy Juana, fell into the hands of the regents. Discouragement and disintegration spread among the Comuneros; Andalusia deserted the cause; the Holy Junta itself was profoundly divided between Laso de la Vega and the popular soldier Padilla; the excesses of the violent demagogue Acuña, Bishop of Zamora, with his plundering, sacrilegious band of fighting priests, shocked the more moderate of the revolutionaries themselves. Civil war raged all over Castile, class fighting against class, town against town, often street against street. Pillage became general; confiscation of the property of nobles by the commons was replied to by massacre of the people where the nobles were strong. At length, when the Constable Velasco had raised a sufficient force, he struck the final blow against Padilla, who with a dwindling and discouraged force of rebels was overtaken near Villalar in April, 1521.

It can hardly be called a battle, though its results were momentous, for the Comuneros fled wildly through the pelting rain in a mad panic, and the hope of representative government in Castile was dead for two hundred and ninety years longer. Padilla and the other leaders were executed immediately, and though Padilla's heroic widow held out for a time in Toledo with the bishop Acuña,* the cause was killed

* She and her family succeeded in escaping to Portugal, but the wild bishop was captured near the French frontier, was carried to

at Villalar; and Charles the Emperor, when he came back to Spain (July, 1522) with 4,000 German foot, found, doubtless to his own sardonic satisfaction, that nobles and burgesses had mutually crippled each other and destroyed the political strength of both elements, leaving him supreme despot, with none to say him nay. He could afford to be merciful and moderate, as he was,* and to banish from his side most of his Flemish friends; for he had now learned to speak Spanish, and De Croy was dead and Cardinal Adrian was Pope.†

There were other reasons why Charles should be as popular in Spain on his second visit as he was unpopular on his first. Not only were Spanish nobles around him and Spanish speech upon his lips, but the vanity of Spaniards was flattered, for the whole world was ringing with the glory of their sovereign. This sallow, saturnine young man of two-and-twenty was already at the head of the monarchs of Europe. By a bold stroke he had won the friendship of his fickle uncle the King of England; he had by his own influence decided in the Diet of Worms the condemnation of Martin Luther, and thus had taken upon himself the Spanish burden of the leadership of the Catholic cause; his troops had

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Simancas, which had always remained loyal, and he was hanged from the castle battlements after five years' imprisonment.

* On November 1, 1522, on the Feast of All Saints, a splendid throne was erected in the open air outside the church in Valladolid. After mass Charles mounted the daïs and announced in Spanish to the multitude a general amnesty for all those engaged in the revolt except a few of the leaders. There can be no doubt that Charles had first come to Spain with a very false idea of the country and people, whom he had been led to consider as semi-savages who might best be governed by Flemings. The rising of the Comuneros, which in its origin was largely against foreign rule, opened Charles's eyes both to the independence and the tenacity of the Spaniards, and his treatment of them radically changed thenceforward.

† He was careful on this occasion to avoid the use of the imperial style and insignia. He wore the closed crown of a sovereign prince and an ermine-lined mantle of crimson velvet, instead of the open imperial crown and the purple velvet and gold mantle of emperor.

beaten the French in Navarre, and his generals were marching from victory to victory on the plains of Lombardy; he had drawn Venice to his side, insured the mastership of Milan for himself, made Genoa his humble servant, bought one Pope with a gift of principalities,* and, finally, had raised another, his old tutor Adrian, on the chair of Saint Peter.

During Charles's stay in Spain his glory grew. In February, 1525, the brilliant victory of Pavia placed in his hands the person of his rival, Francis I of France. Not to Aix-la-Chapelle, nor to Brussels, was the captive king sent, but to proud Castile, to swell the captor's popularity with the already dazzled Spaniards. Charles, when he heard the news of the battle, showed no signs of rejoicing, nor would he allow any demonstration of his people. Self-controlled and dignified, he entertained Francis splendidly, more as a guest than as a prisoner; but it was an object lesson which the Spaniards did not forget, and Charles, with all his apparent magnanimity, imposed terms upon Francis in return for his liberty which, if they had not been repudiated afterward, would have crippled French aims for ever.†

The victories in Italy had been, however, dearly bought by Charles. Fortune had not invariably favoured him, and the drain upon his resources had been tremendous; but the Spaniards in Charles's armies had in these times of adversity shown their true mettle. When Germans and Swiss were sulking at starvation rations and unpaid wages, the Spanish troops, proud of the individual glory they won, cheerfully gave up their very cloaks to pay the mercenary Germans; and every man of them looked upon himself as the one hero of the host, marked out for distinction by personal sacrifice—

* Ferrara, Parma, and Piacenza to Leo X (Medici).

† By the treaty of Madrid Francis finally abandoned all his claims in Italy and his suzerainty over Flanders and Artois. He also agreed to cede Burgundy to Charles, to withdraw all aid from the dispossessed Queen of Navarre, and to marry the emperor's widowed sister Eleanor.

noted by God, if not by men. This was the feeling which made the Spanish infantry invincible, and gave to the emperor's armies the backbone which carried them through Europe, the old Iberian feeling which has never died.

Of the long wars and complicated intrigues carried on by Charles in Italy, no detailed account can be given here. Though the French king surrendered his claims, the Italians themselves had no wish to be dominated by Spain, or rather by the emperor, and the latter had to face leagues of Italian states and to beard Italian popes in Rome again and again, with varying fortunes, but with one invariable result, so far as Spain was concerned—namely, to deplete her treasury to exhaustion and to drain her of her best manhood, without the slightest real benefit or profit to the nation; increasing, it is true, the pride of Spaniards and their love for war and adventure, but in every respect injuring them as useful citizens.

Cortes had been summoned almost yearly in Valladolid, Toledo, or Madrid since Charles's return, the cry of the emperor being ever for money, and more money, to the outspoken dismay of the deputies, whose remonstrances were as constant as they were useless.* The petitions of the Cortes

* The first three Cortes of Castile after the defeat of the Comuneros were constitutionally of the highest importance, as they practically fixed the future relations between the monarch and the parliament. On each occasion there was a struggle on the part of the members to be allowed to discuss, before voting supply, the various grievances which they had been instructed to press. In every case Charles was conciliatory but firm, and the members gave way, though the emperor promised that their petitions should be well considered afterward. The petitions constantly reproduced certain tendencies, principally the desire for the exclusion of the foreigners from national benefits, the jealousy of the possession by the Church of feudal lands or property in mortmain, the complaint of delay in the administration of justice, and the grievance of corruption of administrative officers. The alienation of crown property is always condemned, as also is the waste and extravagance of the royal establishment, and, above all, the growing demands for money for the crown. "*When the Catholic kings reigned,*" said the Cortes, "*the crown revenues were much smaller; they had not the revenues of the orders, nor the Indies, nor*

forever repeated the fears of clerical intrusion in civil causes, the growing wealth of the Church, the accumulation of property exempt from taxation in the hands of religious foundations, and the sending of gold out of the country to the Pope or in payment for foreign goods; and the legislatures dictated a host of measures, all tending to the remedying of these evils and to relieving the subjects from vassalage. In Aragon, which had taken no part in the rising of the Comuneros, the legislature proceeded on its firm, well-trodden path, checking the intrusion of the Inquisition into civil affairs, protecting the liberty of the subject, and doling out supply to the king as grudgingly as possible, and always in a spirit of bargain. Even in Aragon, as a result of the rising of the Germania in Valencia, the right of combination was taken away from artisans and workmen.

Charles had made a popular marriage with his cousin Isabel of Portugal, and his heir was born in 1527, at a time when the rebel French prince in Charles's service, the Duke of Bourbon, had, to the dismay of the emperor himself, overrun and sacked Rome and imprisoned the sovereign pontiff. It was a dangerous position for Charles, for the coalition against him was tremendous in its strength, and this new

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*the crusade bulls* [i. e., sale of indulgences], *and yet they promised that no more taxes should be raised*"; and the Cortes begged Charles to keep this promise, "as the country was so poor and ruined," to which he dryly replied that he did not mean to ask for money except for good cause and in accordance with the law. The petitions were usually to a large extent granted, and thus became laws; but the constant complaint was that not the slightest attempt was made to enforce them. An important innovation in these Cortes was that the powers of attorney granted by the constituencies were now drafted by the Government, and sent for signature to the towns; so that the terms of the powers were known, and the members could not take refuge behind them for refusing a vote for supply. Another important novelty was the appointment of a permanent recess committee to watch over the expenditure and the carrying out of the laws. By gradually enlarging the powers of this committee the crown was able to avoid summoning the Cortes for long periods.

outrage brought him into antagonism with Catholic forces not only abroad, but at home, where since the reign of Isabel the Church had grown constantly in power and wealth.

But chance and the magnificent Spanish infantry stood the emperor in good stead. The Medici Pope Clement VII was conciliated, and the Ladies' Peace (1529), though it modified some of the humiliation of the treaty of Madrid, excluded Francis from Italy, and left the emperor a free hand to attend to matters of even closer interest to him. He needed it, as he knew, for the Dominicans in Spain were already daring to call him the leader of the Lutherans, and the Protestant schism in Germany was striking at the very root of his empire. The influence of Erasmus was making itself felt in Spain; the priests began to whisper of the freedom of opinion allowed at Charles's court; and even in the Cortes the member for Toledo was instructed to beg the emperor to support the Inquisition in suppressing heresy in all forms.

The position was truly a difficult one, arising directly from the policy of Fernando and Isabel in seeking the unification of the realms on a basis of bigotry. Charles, as King of Spain alone, might have pursued the same course without misgiving; but he was Emperor of Germany, where and in Flanders he was brought face to face with princes and people strongly imbued with Lutheran feeling. He must brave one side or the other; he must risk breaking up the unity of Spain by crushing bigotry, or face civil war, and perhaps ruin, in Germany by enforcing upon an enlightened country the system which Fernando and Isabel had introduced into disunited and anarchical Spain.

Charles was forced by circumstances to adopt the latter alternative. He derived the sinews of his strength from Castile; his permanent hold over Italy depended upon the continued good will of the papacy; his more than doubtful friend Henry of England was snapping his fingers at the Pope and divorcing a Spanish princess, while his French

rival, Francis I, was aiding the Englishman in his views to the full extent of his power. The gigantic forces which were to divide Europe were, in fact, already ranging themselves, and Charles was obliged by the facts of the case to choose the wrong side and make the cause of rigid Catholicism his own.

In August, 1529, Charles left Spain under the regency of his wife and embarked for Italy. At Bologna he was invested with the iron crown of Lombardy, and received the imperial diadem from the hands of the Pope. Through the trembling Italian states, with the Pope now his humble servant and in no fear of the French, he proceeded to his German dominions, where the double contest of religious freedom against the enslavement of belief, and of Christianity against Islam, was to be fought out during the next few years. Genoa and Savoy were now at Charles's bidding; Barcelona, Naples, and Palermo were his own. In the Mediterranean the French were reduced to impotence, though by encouraging the Turkish aggression they might yet foment trouble. So far the first stage of the dreams of the old Aragonese kings was fulfilled; but fulfilled, alas! not for Aragon—hardly, indeed, for Spain—but rather that Genoa and Lombardy should serve as the conduit by which the life blood of Spain should be drained to fight in Germany, in the Tyrol, in the Netherlands, the battles of the empire and of the house of Burgundy.

And yet, with the turbulent Lutheran princes in Germany pressing him hard, and the Moslem threatening the empire, Charles must have understood, at this period at least, that the position of King of Spain, with only an unimportant territory in Germany, was incompatible with the permanent possession of the imperial crown, and in 1531 his brother Ferdinand was crowned King of the Romans, with the succession to the empire.* To Ferdinand, unburdened by Spanish

* Ferdinand had married Princess Anne, the heiress of the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, which, with the territories of the

claims,* was left the government of the empire in his brother's absence, while Flanders was similarly ruled by Charles's sister Mary, Dowager Queen of Hungary; and thus, in 1533, the emperor was free to return to Spain, for him the most necessary portion of his wide dominions. He had thrown in his his lot with the Spanish system, and thenceforward his policy was to a great extent swayed by Spanish susceptibilities.

It happened, fortunately for him, that at this juncture the policy necessary in the interests of the empire was one in full accordance with Spanish ideas. The Turks had threatened the empire on the Danube, and anything which weakened them was of value to the Germans. This task fell largely to the Spaniards. Barbarossa, the Barbary pirate, had succeeded in forming a strong Moslem state on the Algerian coast, and had placed himself under the suzerainty of the Turk. All the blackguards of eastern and southern Europe flocked to the pirate kingdom, which kept the Mediterranean in fear and turmoil at its depredations. Cortes after Cortes in Castile and Aragon deplored to the king that the commerce and coasts of Spain were at the mercy of these barbarians, who possessed the finest ships and the most skilful seamen in Europe. The pirates themselves were formidable, but when the Turkish fleet joined them they became a national danger, and the capture by them of Tunis threatened Sicily and Naples.

When, therefore, Charles, on his way through Italy homeward, found himself not only confronted by this difficulty, but also with a new war with France, in consequence of the French invasion of Savoy, he wrote to his viceroy of Aragon (the Duke of Alburquerque) demanding a supply of money.

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house of Hapsburg, formed a respectable power for the future emperor and enabled him to form a bulwark on the advance of the Turk.

* The treaty which Charles made at Nuremberg with the Lutheran princes previous to his departure agreed that no person should be incriminated for his religious opinions, pending a general assembly of states of the empire. There is, however, no doubt that he was driven to this by the advance of the Turks against Vienna.

The Aragonese replied that no money would be voted except in a properly constituted Cortes (1535); and when Charles, in January, 1536, again urged his need from Naples and deprecated "delays and ceremonies," he got a rougher answer than before, but no money from Aragon.* Charles nevertheless marched against the invaders of Savoy; but his army was badly provided, and his men had no stomach for the fight. The result was that the emperor's forces were unsuccessful, the French occupied most of Piedmont, and a ten years' truce in 1538 left Charles in the occupation of Lombardy, it is true, but with his prestige in Italy badly injured. For the Spaniards had no wish generally to fight the French; they had

* When Charles returned to Spain in the following year the Cortes of Valladolid (1537) fervently begged the emperor to make peace and come and live in Spain permanently; but they voted him the ordinary 200,000,000 maravedis for two years' supply, while the Aragonese, Catalan, and Valencian Cortes of the same year also voted their usual amounts. The Cortes of Toledo of the following year (1538) is memorable in the constitutional history of Spain as having witnessed the last struggle of the Castilian nobility to obtain political power. Charles was deeply in debt, and sorely needed money for the war. He therefore summoned the nobles separately to the palace and asked them to vote him a large sum in the form of an excise on meat, which, of course, would have to be paid by nobles as well as by others. When one of the nobles was about to reply, the emperor roughly silenced him with the remark that they had better be quick about it, and "let no one say a word in opposition." This offended the assembly, and when later a gentleman whom the emperor had appointed to attend the meetings as secretary presented himself the irate nobles violently expelled him. The nobles then met and elected a permanent committee of twelve of their number, and adopted a resolution in favour of their sitting in Cortes to consult with the representatives of the towns. This Charles refused to allow, and insisted upon the vote being passed in three days. The nobles then refused the aid altogether so far as they were concerned, and begged that peace might be made and that the emperor should reside in Spain. The nobles were thereupon dismissed by the emperor in a passion, with a threat to throw their leader, Velasco, out of window. "Your Majesty had better not," was the reply. "I am little, but I weigh heavily." This, however, ended the claim of Castilian nobles to form part of the legislature by right.

nothing to gain by pouring out blood and treasure to keep hold of the imperial fief of Milan for the empire, which was destined to pass away from the crown of Spain. What they were more willing to do was to continue the glorious traditional struggle against the hated Moslem pirates in north Africa, in which, under the emperor's own leadership, they had just before gained such glorious victories. For the capture of Tunis by Charles (1535) had been a true crusade, in which the galleys of the Pope, of Genoa, and of Portugal joined with those of Aragon and Naples, and with hoisted crucifixes and consecrated banners had gone forth from Cagliari to conquer in the name of Christ. After five weeks' terrible siege in an African summer Tunis was captured and the pirate fleet of Barbarossa was destroyed.

This was the war for which Spaniards yearned, and not to fight the French in the passes of the Savoyard Alps or on the flat borders of Flanders in a quarrel that was not their own. They had their wish in 1541, for Barbarossa had again become aggressive, and Charles led a splendid army and a fleet of 200 galleys against Algiers. But utter disaster fell upon the Christian host. The galleys were scattered and wrecked, and the army in its retreat to such of the boats as remained was routed and destroyed. Charles gained in personal reputation by his coolness in catastrophe, but the naval power of Spain in the Mediterranean suffered an eclipse for many years to come.

Though he was only in early manhood, Charles was already bitter and disappointed, for the problems before him were more than one man could solve. He had lost his young wife, to whom he was deeply attached, his own health was bad, and his labours were incessant. A transient hollow friendship with Francis was followed by a renewal of the war in 1542. The Spanish Cortes resisted to the utmost all attempts to increase the supplies for a war with France. The Turkish fleet, with the countenance of the French, devastated

the Italian coasts. Charles was in the deepest poverty, harassed and threatened on all sides, and he hurried from Spain to Germany in June, 1543, to pray the German princes at Spires to help him to occupy Gueldres, and thus draw the French away from Italy, where they were carrying all before them. With a German army and a few Spaniards he advanced through Luxemburg, while he patched up an alliance with Henry VIII, by which the latter agreed to join him with an English army, and together advance on Paris, there to dictate terms to Francis. Bad faith and distrust reigned supreme in this alliance, both Charles and Henry fearing that the other would leave him in the lurch. Francis was utterly unprepared for a war in the north, and could only fall back and endeavour to make terms which should divide his enemies. In the diplomatic juggle that ensued Henry VIII was beaten. He had captured Boulogne, but found to his dismay that the emperor had deserted him, and had made a separate peace, binding himself to eternal friendship with Francis, and arranging a marriage between Charles's daughter and Francis's son, with Milan or the Netherlands as a dowry for the princess. The treaty came to nothing, and may be dismissed, but the reason for Charles's action in thus suddenly betraying England and conceding favourable terms to his lifelong foe Francis, who was practically at his mercy, is interesting to our purpose.

Charles was already realizing the responsibility which his adoption of the Spanish policy in Europe entailed upon him. The Lutheran princes of the empire were, in the face of the emperor's necessities, assuming an attitude which foretold the approach of the tempest, and it must have been evident to Charles that sooner or later he must fight his own feudatories. In such a position the alliance with the schismatic King of England and enmity with the Catholic King of France was a weakness rather than a strength to him, and the great scheme of a Catholic league for the purpose of forcing upon Europe religious unity of the Spanish pattern now took form.

Charles had begun by making friends with Paul III, the Farnese Pope. We have seen that the papacy generally had looked with jealousy upon the growing Spanish influence in Italy, and had sided with the French, the Venetians, and the Turks to counteract it. The Farneses had no cause to love the emperor, for he had treated them badly, and Paul III, like his predecessors, had also chafed and struggled at the continued and successful efforts of Charles to weaken the power of the pontiffs over the Spanish Church. But when Paul was approached with the suggestion of a union of all the Catholic powers to crush Protestantism, and was promised that his own family should be enriched by the grant or restoration of an Italian princedom, he eagerly assented; offered to summon a council (of Trent) to devise means for the conversion of the world; promised to contribute handsomely in money to the cost of a campaign; and, above all, to give way on the point very near to Charles's heart, namely, the control of Rome over the Spanish clergy. The peace, therefore, made with Francis (1544) at Crespy contained secret clauses binding both sovereigns to join with other Catholic powers to unify the faith of Europe.

Thenceforward the life of Charles was mainly spent in endeavouring to fasten upon Germany the Spanish form of unity, in which, with the forces against him, he signally failed. Spanish blood and money were poured out like water with this object; in vain each Cortes prayed for peace, and protested that the country was utterly exhausted and could do no more; from every village in Spain the flower of the manhood marched gaily, even fervently, to fight in the holy war against the "heretics." * The old Spanish feeling of indi-

* It must be borne in mind that the Cortes were now very imperfectly representative of the people. The few towns that sent deputies were ruled by the gentry and upper classes, and the representatives themselves were to a great extent nominated by court influence. They continued for many years longer to present their long list of grievances, and to complain that even when their requests were granted

vidual distinction by sacrifice kept hold of the people with a grip of iron. The hatred of heresy preached in every church in Spain and the persecutions of the Inquisition had persuaded the ignorant peasants that to them and their race was given the glorious task of fighting the Lord's battles, and sweeping from the earth the impious enemies who questioned the teaching of His holy Church. So, while the Cortes groaned over the crushing burdens that were strangling national resources, and prayed for a resident king, living in peace with the world, the rank and file of the Spanish people, incited by the priests, grew in pride at the task confided to them, and in cruelty, intolerance, and bigotry at the conviction that they were the chosen instruments of God's anger upon His foes. Not alone did the Spanish people harden to their task as the opposition increased; the emperor himself became more and more Spanish in his German and Italian policy.

With his increasing age and ill health it must have been evident to him that he could not hope in his lifetime to carry to completion the aims he had in view, but he had an apt pupil to follow him, his only legitimate son Philip, in whom all his hopes were centred. It was this desire to perpetuate his policy and to aggrandize his beloved son which changed his views as to the succession, and inspired him with the hope of making Spain the mistress of the world. His brother Ferdinand was already King of the Romans as well as of Hungary and Bohemia, and his acknowledged successor to the imperial crown, while by the peace of Crespy we have seen that Charles contemplated the separation either of the Netherlands or Milan; but the great victory of Mühlberg (1547), which utterly crushed for a time the Lutheran princes, confirmed him in his idea that the Spanish policy might after

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no attempt was made to enforce the law; but as they voted themselves considerable sums of money included in the supply granted to the king, and were largely bribed, the repetition of the national grievances became a mere matter of form, to keep up appearances.

all become paramount in Europe, in which case Spanish Philip alone would fittingly rule.

For Philip was a Spaniard of Spaniards. Brought up mostly in the absence of his father by devout women and priests; surrounded from his birth with the overpowering conviction that he and his had been specially chosen by God to fight His battles; inheriting the religious exaltation of his house, firmly believing that Spain was the only true centre of religion, and that no wrong could be done in the service of the Lord, this reticent, distrustful lad of twenty-one, already a widower with an only son, was an embodiment of all the salient qualities which we have noted as characteristic of the Spanish race. Intense individuality in him, as in so many of his countrymen, was merged in the idea of personal distinction in the eyes of God by self-sacrifice. Through his long life, patient, plodding labour, self-denial, humble submission to suffering, and ecstatic asceticism were his portion. Pain, defeat, bereavement, disappointment that would have crushed the hearts of most men, passed over him without ruffling his marble serenity. These afflictions, he thought, were sent by God specially to him as an ordeal and to distinguish him from other men by the bitterness of his sacrifice, only later to bring a brighter glory to him and to the Master for whom he worked. At heart he was kindly, a good father and husband, an indulgent and considerate master, having no love for cruelty itself. And yet lying, dishonesty, cruelty, the infliction of suffering and death upon hosts of helpless ones, and the secret murder of those who stood in his path, were not wrong for *him*, because, in his moral obliquity, he thought that the ends justified the means, and that all was lawful in the linked causes of God and Spain.

When he was still but a child his father had intrusted him with the secret keys of his political system. It was a vile creed, which Charles had inherited and bettered from crafty Fernando the Catholic, and it brought his house finally

to ruin; but it was subtle and selfish, and it found a congenial lodging in the moody, concentrative brain of young Philip: Trust no mortal; have in your council men of opposite opinions, and pit them against each other, that you may hear the worst of them all; listen to the advice of every one, and finally, without giving reasons, adopt your own course; raise your ministers from the dregs, and incite the jealousy of other men against them, in order that they may have no friend but you; make your nobles court danglers, ambassadors abroad, officers and governors in foreign possessions, but allow them no power or influence at home; weaken representative institutions, especially in Aragon, where they are strong; cause all power and activity to emanate from you alone; and, above all, employ the strongest force in Spain, religious unity, for your own ends.

This was the political gospel upon which Philip was reared, and at the age of twenty-one he was already a master of its diplomacy, when his father summoned him to Germany (1548) to unfold to him his great plans for the future. These were nothing less than the establishment of the Spanish dominion instead of the vicariate of the empire over north Italy —Philip having already been created Duke of Milan *—and the permanent attachment of the territories of the house of Burgundy to the Spanish crown. This meant the hemming in of France by Spanish territory and the dwarfing of the temporal rule of the papacy, and both powers were accordingly driven to continue the secular struggle with Spain until the chain was broken. As a consequence also it entailed that thenceforward, come what might, Spain, as the possessor of Holland and Flanders, must keep friendly with England. Even the promise of this vast dominion failed to satisfy Philip, and during his two years' stay with his father in Ger-

* Milan was a fief of the empire, and the dukedom was vacant, except for the French claim upon it, on the death of the last Sforza duke.

many and Flanders it was arranged that after the death of Ferdinand he should succeed also to the imperial crown, and rule the whole of Europe from Spain by Spanish methods. The idea of such a calamity as this shocked Germans, Flemings, and north Italians alike, for Philip's cold primness and haughty gravity had offended them all.

But the defection of Maurice of Saxony from Charles and the union of the new King of France (Henry II) with the Protestant Germans suddenly changed the whole aspect. Charles found himself at war on all sides: Maurice and the Lutherans swept through Germany, the emperor barely escaped capture at Innspruck, the imperial army was utterly crushed before Metz, the French overran Piedmont, the Farneses raised tumult in Italy, and Charles, nearly broken-hearted, was forced to sign the peace of Passau (1552) which gave toleration to the German Lutherans. The Spanish policy was thus finally beaten in Germany; all hope of making Philip emperor fled, and the dominion of Spain over all north Italy was rendered impossible.

The blow was a heavy one for Spain; but the diplomacy of Charles sought compensation elsewhere. Philip was still a widower, though many suggestions had been made for his marriage, especially with Jeanne d'Albret, the titular Queen of Navarre, whose kingdom Fernando the Catholic had stolen, and with a Portuguese princess; but the prince, immersed in the detail work of his regency of Spain, and consoled by an irregular connection, had not been an eager suitor in either case.

The death of young Edward VI of England, and the accession of the half-Spanish Mary Tudor, opened to Charles a prospect by which his beloved son and Spain might yet become paramount in Europe. If only rich England could be joined to Spain, the hollow crown of the empire and the turbulent Lutheran princes might go. Flanders and England together would hold the Channel; Barcelona, Genoa, and

Palermo the Mediterranean; Milan would afford passage by land for Spanish and Italian troops through Germany to the Franche-Comté, Luxemburg, and Flanders; and France, hemmed in by sea as well as by land, would be more effectually humbled than by the former plan. Philip was a dutiful and obedient son, as well as an ambitious statesman. The prospect of marrying an unattractive queen many years older than himself and in ill health was not tempting. He had nothing in common with the English character, but he loved Spain; the ambition of ruling Europe by Spanish methods was strong in him, and in a true spirit of sacrifice he married Mary of England (1554). But the plot failed. The emperor was again at war with France, in dire straits for money and men, as usual; the English, on the other hand, had no quarrel with France, and were in a tempest of passion and panic lest the Spanish connection should drag them into constant war with their neighbours, as well as subject England to government by Spanish methods. Philip did his best to reassure them by conciliation and mildness; but Gardiner and the English Catholics, in his absence, lit the fires of Smithfield, and the Spaniard had to bear the blame. England, in spite of herself, and to her bitter indignation, was dragged into war with France; the queen, disappointed and unhappy, faded away; the English Council and people made it clear that England would never be ruled by a Spanish king; Elizabeth and the Protestant religion were triumphant; and the attempt to impose Spanish policy on Europe by English means finally fell to the ground. Thenceforward Spain had to depend upon her own strength alone to enforce in the dominions of her king political unity by means of religious uniformity.

The mere foreshadowing of the failure of his hopes, even before it happened, dealt the deathblow to the emperor. Heartsick and weary of the continual struggle against forces too mighty to be overborne; broken down by disappointment, hardship, and sickness; a prey to the torpor and religious

mysticism which perchance had descended to him from Isabel the Catholic and her crazy daughter, the great emperor shifted from his weary shoulders the burden he could bear no longer. At that ever-memorable scene in the hall of the palace of Brussels (October, 1555) Charles took leave of all earthly glory, and Spanish Philip became sovereign of the Flemings, whom he hated as bitterly as they hated him; soon afterward, by another abdication, to become King of Spain, while the emperor, stripped of all his grandeur, went to his living tomb at Yuste, and to lay his bones at last in the land which had grown to be the centre and kernel of his political system.

Philip's task was more impossible even than that of his father had been, although he was relieved of the entanglement of the empire. He was a rigid, unadaptable man, who understood but one system of government, namely, to attain national solidarity by means of enforced religious unity; and his only object was to rule all his dominions from Spain by this purely Spanish method.

Yet in the first days of his rule he found himself at war with the head of the Catholic Church,* and the Catholic King of France, while his possession of the Netherlands made it impossible for him to quarrel with England, where the Reformation thenceforward grew in strength and aggressiveness. His great victory over the French (1557) at Saint Quentin was not followed up, and led to no subsequent advantage, for Philip was no warrior,† and had other plans in his head. England had lost Calais in his war, but England

* The violent Neapolitan Paul IV, who hated Spaniards, and aimed at expelling "the vile and abject spawn of Jews, the dregs of the world," from Italy. He excommunicated Catholic Philip in the most outrageous terms.

† When Charles, in his cloister at Yuste, was informed of his son's victory, he asked whether the Spaniards had yet arrived in Paris. The Duke of Savoy, who commanded Philip's forces, almost passionately prayed the king to allow him to advance, but in vain.

must look after herself. It was evident that Elizabeth would take her own course, and not allow Philip to sway English policy; so, like his father in 1544, Philip threw England over, and once more formed a Catholic league with the King of France to withstand Protestantism throughout the world (1559); for Henry II himself was now alive to the danger of the Reformation in his own realm.

In vain Philip's Spanish advisers, eternally jealous and distrustful of the French, urged him to overthrow Elizabeth and re-establish Catholicism in England while there was yet time. His own Netherlands were already strongly tinged with Protestantism, and were in a panic lest their new foreign prince should try to govern them in Spanish style by the Inquisition; and a Protestant England, he was told, with whom he could not keep friendly, would endanger his own dominions opposite. He only smiled grimly, for he had his own plans, and would never be hurried. He would, he thought, deal with his Netherlands first now that he was sure of France; and when he took leave of his outspoken Flemish nobles, who were in fear for their dearly prized autonomy, he made no attempt to hide the scowl upon his brow. Remonstrance for him, either of Flemings or Aragonese, meant impious rebellion, diversity of creed was blasphemy. There was only one remedy that he knew of: rigid religious unity and the centralization of all power in himself. Flemings first must be crushed into the mould which commended itself to Philip, and the motive power must come from Spain. So to his beloved Spain, late in 1559, went the king, full of his divine mission to rule men by enslaving their souls, convinced of the special support of the Almighty; ready to torture human limbs, to burn human flesh, to carry misery, devastation, and death to thousands for the greater glory of God; but determined, cost what it might, never to be a king of heretics.

With this spirit the Spanish populace was in fervent ac-

cord. They were densely ignorant, their religion in most cases was simply a superstitious observance of prescribed forms of which they understood nothing, and their worship was not far removed from the paganism of their forefathers. Their finer feelings were blunted by the persecution of their neighbours, the Jews and Moriscos, and by the contumely which the Inquisition heaped upon those whose orthodoxy was questionable; and each unlettered boor and swaggering soldier felt in an undefined way that he was a creature apart by reason of his faith; that Spaniards and the Spaniards' king had a higher mission than was accorded to other men; and that from among the 8,000,000 Spaniards alive the particular Juan or Pedro in question stood out individually, in the sight of God and men, as pre-eminently the most zealous and orthodox of them all. To this had the policy of Fernando and Isabel brought the mass of the Spanish people.

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## A. D. 1520 TO A. D. 1560

### *Summary of progress during this period*

The irresistible moral force given temporarily by the spiritual exaltation that held Spain together is shown by the way in which America was made Spanish in so short a time; but a great change also came over the Spanish people themselves in this period. In Castile the power of the parliament elected by the town councils had dwindled to fruitless expostulation, while the nobles had been reduced to the position of court danglers. The centre of the Spanish system had become the Cæsar upon whose mere will everything depended, and who in his turn depended upon Spain, for Castile alone of all his vast dominions could be squeezed at the cost of verbal remonstrance only. Intoxicated with the grandeur of the mission confided to them, as they thought, by the Almighty to suppress heresy throughout the world, the Spaniards were ready to submit to poverty, suffering, and death in secular quarrels that concerned them not, and welcomed blindly the erection of the Inquisition into a political in-

strument because it gave sanction to the idea that they were better than other people. Aragonese and Catalans were less exalted, but they, in addition, were flattered with the hope of that traditional expansion of their domain over Italy, which they saw as a result of the emperor's policy.

Spain under Philip II had now crystallized into the nation she remained for centuries. The policy of Fernando and the churchmen had borne fruit. Spain had purged herself, or was about to do so, of most of those whose skill and industry had made her rich. Spaniards—those that were left of them—all thought alike; were all convinced that they were a superior and sacred people. They looked upon honest productive labour as the appanage of those in whose veins flowed the base blood of Moors and Jews; and those who were, or claimed to be, of pure Christian descent would have none of it. So great, however, was the demand for manufactured goods suddenly made for export to America, so plentiful the gold that flowed in, that some amount of prosperity came to the industrial classes, and for a short time the looms and workshops of Spain were busy. But not for long. Hampered by extortionate exactions, taxed to bear the expenditure of a world-wide empire, despised and contemned, industry sank again. England, France, Germany, and Flanders grew rich with the gold from America, which flowed to Seville only to flow out again, leaving Spain poorer than ever. The constant drain of the strongest and most enterprising men for the wars in Italy and Germany, and for the mad rush after gold to America and the newly discovered Philippines, was telling also upon industry. Much of the agricultural work was done by Frenchmen, who came for the season and returned home with their wages in their pockets. Banking and commerce in Spain were at the end of this period almost entirely in the hands of foreigners. A great rise in the price of commodities of all sorts took place, partly in consequence of the great increase of pasture, and partly in consequence of the exports to America, in conjunction with the scarcity of currency caused by the continued outflow. Spain had already begun to sink into proud, bigoted idleness, each man boasting of the national wealth, while deploring his individual poverty; every citizen exaggerating the grandeur and omnipotence of the sovereign and the sublimity of his faith in order to emphasize his own superiority over all other men. Spain at this period reached her highest greatness, which bore with it the germs of her rapid decay.

The constant communication that existed now between Spain and Italy had caused Spanish literature to take its tone almost entirely from the sister peninsula. This was particularly the case in verse, in which the principal Spanish poets—Boscan, Garcilaso, and Mendoza—closely followed Italian and Latin models. Scientific studies were frowned upon by the Inquisition, but history flourished exceedingly, and the picaresque novel was born.

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*Summary of what Spain did for the world in this period*

First and foremost, she had completed the process of imposing upon all South America and much of North America her language, laws, religion, and race. The opening of the new continent and the Philippine and Spice Islands, besides giving an impetus to exploration generally, had the effect, for reasons explained in the text, of setting all Europe to work, and enormously increased the commerce and wealth of all countries but Spain itself.

Intellectually, Spain's greatest service at this period was the production in 1554 (presumably by the famous Diego Hurtado de Mendoza) of the first picaresque novel, Lazarillo de Tormes, the romance of roguery, which spread throughout the world in incredibly short time and engendered the modern novel. The specially dramatic character of the Spanish imagination also at this period had begun to make its mark on the modern stage, especially in Italy; and the first modern comedies in verse, as we now understand them, were written and produced in Spanish (1517), though the great dramatic Spanish renaissance was to come somewhat later.

The didactic works of Antonio de Guevara, a cleric, statesman, and historian of the court of Charles V, had a very great vogue in England, where Lord Berners, Sir Francis Bryan, and many others translated and imitated them. To this period, too, belongs the famous Luis Vives, a Valencian scholar and Latinist, who was a fellow of Corpus Christi, Oxford, and lived long in England. His works were also very popular in England, especially his Instruction of Christian Women, translated by Sir Richard Morison and others. Translations of Amadis and its numerous Spanish imitations were now current throughout Europe, and did much to influence—for good or evil—contemporary ideas.

The dominion of Spain over that portion of America which had been assigned to her by papal arbitration had now assumed definite form, and it will be useful here to give a brief account of the methods by which the new continent had been so rapidly organized. The first framework of colonial government was erected when Columbus started on his second voyage (1493). A colonial treasurer was appointed to superintend revenue and expenditure in the interests of the crown. Columbus was authorized to place where he thought fit alcaldes, alguaciles, and magistrates for the administration of the law; a regular ecclesiastical hierarchy was sent out; a customhouse was to be built in Hispanola, and a corresponding one in Cadiz; and a set of regulations was drawn up for the mining, smelting, and transmission to Spain of the precious metals. It is to be noted that all the official documents issued by Isabel with regard to the Indies strictly enjoin kindness and humanity toward the Indians, whose welfare and conversion, she said, she prized more than all the gold that the Indies could supply. How she was obeyed by her distant subjects may be seen in Las Casas's celebrated book. Five hundred Spaniards were authorized to remain in Hispanola; but many of these, and hundreds of others direct from Spain, pushed their adventurous voyages farther and farther. After Columbus's third voyage all the criminals in Spain were pardoned if they undertook to settle in Hispanola at their own expense.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century a perfect fever for adventurous exploration overtook the Spanish people. As a contemporary wrote, "so much in the dark did these people go to the Indies that the poverty of some and the greed and ambition of others blinded them as to what they were doing or seeking." So strong was the current that almost every Spanish shipmaster who could muster sufficient money and men made an attempt to reach the land of gold. By 1503 it became evident to Isabel that such a traffic as this must be organized, and she established a regular corporation in Seville called the Casa de Contratacion through which all trade with the Indies, import and export, had to pass. Ojeda, Cortés, Balboa, the Pizarros, Almagro, Valdivia, and a hundred others entered and pushed across the American continent with a few intrepid followers each. Wherever the cross was set up beside the shield of Castile and Leon gold was the first demand, and then slaves to work it. Priests in flocks preached the gospel of mercy; adventurers enforced the gospel of greed. Everywhere missionary monks, alcaldes, and king's accountants

(*contadores*) followed close upon the heels of explorers; and when new colonists or adventurers came, they found already established everywhere functionaries authorized to speak in the irresistible names of Church and king.

The countries richest in readily obtainable gold—Mexico (New Spain) and Peru—were the first viceroyalties established, and were followed by those of New Granada, Guatemala, and Buenos Ayres, with the captain generalships of Caracas and Chile. Each colonial potentate exercised vicariously all the powers of the crown of Castile, limited only by the audiencias, or tribunals of justice, modelled on those of Spain, which might, if they thought fit, tender executive advice to the viceroy, and, failing its acceptance, might petition the king in Spain. Each viceroyalty was divided into provinces under corregidores appointed by the king, but dependent upon the control of the viceroy; the towns elected their town councils, as in Spain, and were practically autonomous. The whole of the administrative posts were retained in the hands of the native Spaniards, to the exclusion of the great population of half-castes that promptly grew up. This caused a continuous drain of colonists from Spain, very few of whom ever found their way back to the mother country; so that the colonization, though it depleted Spain of some of the best of its population, had little or no effect in directly altering the habits or thoughts of the Spaniards in the mother country. Indirectly, of course, its effects were enormous, as is set forth in the text.

While the entire traffic with America was carried on through the Casa de Contratacion in Seville, the whole of the governmental arrangements were controlled by a permanent "Council of the Indies," established by Charles V in 1524 to replace temporary commissions or councils which had from time to time been appointed for a similar purpose since 1511. By the middle of the sixteenth century the organization of the colonies was practically complete, and, for good or for evil, the whole of the southern continent of America and much of the north was stamped forever with the racial traditions, language, and faith of the Iberian peoples.

# CHAPTER X

## A CRUSADING PEOPLE—NATIONAL FAILURE

The colonization and organization of the Spanish possessions—Social changes in Spain in the first half of the sixteenth century—Effects of the settlement of America on industry—Perverse fiscal policy: its effects—Philip II and the papacy—The mainspring of Philip's system—Auto-de-fé at Valladolid—Philip's foreign policy—The defeat of Los Gelves—Relief of Malta—The Inquisition triumphant in Spain—The Spaniards in Flanders—Alba—Spain and England—Decay of industry in Spain—Fanaticism of the people—The control of the Church in Spain—The war of the Moriscos—Expulsion from Andalusia—Don Juan of Austria—Lepanto—Don Juan's ambitions—Don Juan in Flanders—Farnese—The conquest of Portugal—The Armada—Philip and the League—Henry IV goes to mass—Antonio Perez and Aragon—Essex at Cadiz—Death of Philip II—Failure of his lifelong efforts.

THE Spain to which Philip came as king in 1559 had altered greatly since the accession of his father. We have already noticed, in passing, the enormous increase of the power of the crown both in secular and religious affairs, and the weakening of the representative institutions and of the nobles as political forces, as well as the growth of religious intolerance as an instrument of government in the hands of the king. But in the meanwhile a vast social change had almost suddenly been brought about by the Spanish domination and colonization of America and the Philippines. We have seen that the silk and velvet weaving in the south and east, mostly in the hands of Moriscos, had still struggled on in the face of mistaken sumptuary decrees and heavy taxa-

tion, only the evasion of which allowed the industry to survive; and also that the cloth factories of Segovia, and others, had been greatly injured by the alcabala, and the dues imposed by townships on goods in transit. The opening up of America, with the influx of gold, easily wrung from the natives, suddenly changed the aspect of industry in the mother country in the first half of the sixteenth century. The settlers and explorers must be supplied with goods for use and barter; gold was plentiful, and while that was the case productive industry in the colonies themselves was out of the question. A rigid monopoly of supply was kept in the hands of Spain, and Seville was the sole emporium.

Thus, within fifty years from the death of Isabel, Spain became a trading and manufacturing country. There was a great influx of the agricultural classes into the towns, especially in Castile, where cloth weaving was the paramount industry, and wages rose rapidly. In Toledo and Segovia especially the looms increased in the five-and-twenty years prior to 1550 fivefold, and in every part of the country labour was active in supplying the new wants of America. The constant voyages of Charles, and the enormous number of Flemings, Germans, and Italians who came in his train, or were attracted by his presence, introduced a large foreign element into the principal towns. The Jews had been expelled, but the Genoese were not a bad substitute for them, and soon the greater part of the banking and foreign exchange operations of Spain fell into their hands. The export of goods for the Indies could only be made from Seville. Spain could not hope to supply the whole of the increasing demands, for which her languishing and unpopular industry was utterly unprepared, and from Flanders and Italy came a vast quantity of manufactured commodities for transhipment. By the third quarter of the sixteenth century, therefore, foreigners carried on much of the commerce of Spain.

To supply the Spanish wool needed for the extra demand

both for Spain and Flanders,* great tracts of arable land all over the country were turned into pasture. The wine, olives, and wheat also had to be sent for the use of the colonists, and flax was introduced and cultivated largely for the manufactures of linen, which had previously all come from Flanders. This meant a great and rapid rise of prices all round, and if Spain had been free to attend to her own affairs, with some knowledge of political economy, she might have become the wealthiest and busiest country in the world.

But from the first her rulers seemed to carry their perversity in this respect to the point of grotesqueness. No measure was omitted, either by the Cortes or by the king, to kill the nascent prosperity of the country. Remittances in money from the Indies to the Seville merchants were frequently seized for Government uses, to be squandered on the German or Italian wars; and notwithstanding the enormous increase in the bulk of trade and the import of the precious metals from America, the currency was lamentably deficient in the country, for much of the gold and silver never got beyond Seville, whence it was paid to foreign merchants and bankers and exported.

Owing to these circumstances everything naturally cost much more to produce than formerly, and the continued rise in prices led to a series of experiments by the Government

* To show how great was the need and the inability of Spain to supply the markets she had created, the following passage from Houder's Declamatio Panegyrica in laudem Hispanæ (1545) may be quoted: "Of all the nations of Europe, Spain furnishes us with most of every kind of commodity. She sends us so much wool that Bruges alone receives every year 36,000 to 40,000 bales, each of which costs 16 ducats and makes 2½ pieces of cloth, worth more than double before it is calendered. These cloths are sent back in the very ships that bring the wool, and we may judge the profit they bring to Flanders. Besides these cloths, we send to Spain all the linens, muslins, cambrics and cotton stuffs, carpets, and so much hardware as sometimes to load 50 ships a year."

which added to the trouble. The main panaceas of the time were the arbitrary fixing of prices in the interest of the consumer, with the inevitable result of checking and discouraging production; the strict prohibition of export of gold or silver, which order was systematically evaded by great merchants and bankers; and of the use of the precious metals otherwise than in coin, which crippled the silversmiths and tissue weavers; and, most foolish of all, the prohibition of export of certain goods to America, in the belief that it was the great demand of the colonists which made commodities dear. The only result of all this was to shake confidence, to disturb trade, to encourage wholesale contraband, and to flood Spain with foreign goods, which, being unburdened by the crushing alcabala (10 per cent tax on every sale *) and transit tolls, could be transshipped direct in Seville for America; while even in Spain itself, at or near the ports, these foreign goods, largely smuggled, could easily undersell Spanish manufactures.

Though commerce and industry were thus well-nigh strangled at their birth, the demand for America was so great and persistent that a considerable and lucrative trade in cloth and silk goods was still being carried on in Spain at the commencement of the reign of Philip II. The influx of for-

* The incidence of this suicidal tax, which was afterward increased to 14 per cent, was partially lightened in some towns by composition for a lump sum raised by the town council. Its effect was most disastrous to trade, as the value of the commodity was raised over 10 per cent every time it changed hands; and the consequence was that most manufactures could only be used in the immediate neighbourhood of the place of production and when bought at first hand. Attempts were made by the Government to soften its effect by eliminating the middlemen and hampering resale; an innkeeper, for instance, being forbidden from selling food to his guests, who had to buy it first hand for themselves and get the innkeeper to cook it for them. Another method was to allow the municipalities the right of pre-emption at a fixed price of certain necessary articles. The alcabala, however, remained, with the millions, an equally unwise excise on food, the main dependence of Spanish finance for centuries.

eigners, and their practical monopoly of trade and finance, and even some branches of industry, was the most remarkable feature of the time. Cortes complained continually of it, and frequent attempts were made to handicap foreigners as against natives; but the unfortunate fact that the skilled crafts and finance had been regarded to a large extent as the appanage of the Moriscos and Jews, and consequently disgraceful, had made Spaniards disinclined for handiwork and trade; while the drain of men for the emperor's wars and for America had deprived the country of many of her best men, and foreigners were the only resource to do the nation's work. The great German bankers, the Fuggers, and the Genoese financiers constantly advanced to the emperor the vast sums he required for his wars, receiving in return extravagant interest, often over 10 per cent, and the assignation of taxes. This, introducing as it did the foreigner as a tax receiver and revenue farmer, redoubled the hatred of the people against the intruders and their discontent at the taxes, from which they received no benefit.

Thus it happened that, notwithstanding the large sums which were sent to Spain from America and the increase in the bulk of trade, the finances of the country continued to be deplorable, and the principal trouble through the long reigns of Charles and his son arose from their continued and pressing poverty, although they were supposed to be the richest monarchs in the world, and the name of the country came to be a synonym for metallic wealth. The administration of the country had remained without great change; the Council of Castile (home and judicial affairs) and the Council of State (for foreign affairs mainly) had grown in importance as the Cortes declined, new Councils of the Indies and of War had been created, and a Council of Italy had been formed, apart from the Council of Aragon, while the trade and commerce of America had been placed entirely in the hands of the Casa de Contratacion in Seville, but the bad system of referring every

question backward and forward from king to councils remained intact.

During the reign of Charles considerable progress had been made in obtaining for the sovereign the control of the patronage and temporalities of the Church. The kings had long enjoyed the revenue arising from the sale of papal indulgences and a small portion of the ecclesiastical tithes; but this proportion had been greatly increased by Charles, who on one occasion of pressure (1545) was also allowed to sell a large number of Church lands. After much bitter struggle, too, the Pope's right to circulate his bulls in Spain without the royal permission was finally denied, and his hold over the Inquisition was reduced to a mere shadow. All this was deliberate policy on the part of Charles and Philip, with the intention of utilizing the religious organization for the purposes of lay government; and as this could only be done by making the clergy dependent upon the sovereign, and not upon the Pope, no opportunity was lost of strengthening the royal control over the Church and the Inquisition.

One of Charles's last and most fervent injunctions to Philip was that he should exterminate every trace of heresy from his dominions. The emperor was clement and gentle by nature; neither he nor his son was impelled by mere cruelty in the course they adopted. They saw that "heresy" in Germany and elsewhere led to civil war and uprising against authority, and they doubtless thought that the sharp remedy of stamping out schism at its birth would save bloodshed and disaster on a larger scale later. Besides, schism in Spain would have meant national disintegration, for the only bond that held together the various populations was that of religious bigotry, introduced by the Catholic queen, until Philip came and obtained the reverence and love of all Spaniards for himself personally, as the embodiment of the religious national unity, the first truly Spanish king of all Spain.

The long period of elaboration and the co-operation and

counteraction of so many elements, which we have traced in the preceding pages, were at last complete. The passionate local independence and sense of individuality inherited from early ancestors, the romantic mysticism and superstitious veneration engendered by the circumstances of the reconquest, the religious fervour born of centuries of struggle with the Moslem, the love of war and scorn of industry which arose from the circumstances of their history—all these were now blended into the spirit of the Spanish people as we know them. Different nations they still were, and always will remain, with a centrifugal tendency only counteracted up to the beginning of this century by reverence for a semi-sacred monarch and the absolute unity of faith, and during the last ninety years by national habit and the instinct of self-preservation.

This was the nation, ardent, yearning for sacrifice, and thirsting for heroic deeds, over whom Philip II came to rule. He was only thirty-three years of age, but his system of government was already settled and his plan of life laid down. He had bearded and beaten the papacy, and imprisoned the bearers of the Pope's bulls into Spain; his general, the Duke of Alba, had entered the Eternal City, really as a conqueror, although pretending to be a penitent; and the hold of Rome over the Spanish Church was now but a nerveless grasp. Again and again during his reign he taunted Popes for their lukewarmness in the promotion of their own Church; bought, sold, juggled, and railed at cardinals, and vaunted his own superior zeal. Though he was sincerely religious, the papacy to him was simply an institution governed by a shifty Italian priest, whom probably he himself had promoted; and abject as his lip-service sometimes was, the whole institution of the Church was from the first regarded by him purely as a prime instrument of his policy when he needed it. Fernando and Isabel had struck the first note, and the emperor had continued in the same way; but Philip understood his country-

men better than any of them, and knew that the personal concentration of all power in himself, which was necessary for his ends, could best be attained by identifying himself closely with what had now become a national obsession—a belief in the special mission of Spaniards to extirpate heresy. This was the motive power of his policy, and Popes and Church were merely parts of the machinery.

It was fitting, therefore, that the first great ceremony at which he showed himself to his people as king should be a pompous *auto-de-fé* at Valladolid on October 18, 1559.* Seated on a magnificent platform opposite the Church of Saint Martin, surrounded by the high officers of the Inquisition, he solemnly swore to uphold the purity of the faith and to support the Holy Office. The multitude had been attracted from miles around by the promise of a brilliant spectacle and the concession of forty days' indulgence by the Church. Fervent rejoicing and admiration at the king's sublime Catholicism were the paramount feelings of the crowd, and as the 12 poor racked creatures, finally condemned, painfully tot-

* Before his arrival he had instructed his sister, the widowed Regent Juana, Princess of Portugal, to patronize these ceremonies; and she and Philip's only son Charles had attended an *auto-de-fé* in great state in June. Another indication of Philip's set determination to support the Holy Office at all costs is found in his treatment of the celebrated case of Bartolomé Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, his own confessor and friend, who had been promoted by the king in Brussels. The inquisitor general, Valdés, Archbishop of Seville, appears to have been jealous that Carranza, a mere friar of the order of preachers, should have been made primate over his head, and on the arrival of the new archbishop in Spain soon found an excuse for arresting him on a charge of heresy in a catechism which he had written. The most outspoken indignation was expressed at this by most people, especially by the courtiers surrounding the king. But when the latter arrived in Spain matters had gone too far for him to interfere without injuring the prestige of the Holy Office. Carranza was his own friend, and the charge against him was of the most flimsy description, yet Philip allowed the primate to languish in a dungeon for years, and finally to die in exile and disgrace, rather than appear to defend heterodoxy in any form.

tered past on their way to the burning place, Philip justified the admiration of his people by replying to the remonstrance of one of the doomed wretches—a noble related to the royal house—that if he, Philip, had a son so perverse, he himself would carry the fagots to burn him.

The object both of Henry II of France and of Philip in the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis (1559) was to form a coalition to crush Protestantism, which in France was already a rising power, and in Flanders a national danger. But Henry was accidentally killed in the peace rejoicings, and the accession of young Francis II, with his Scottish wife, Marie Stuart, considerably altered the aspect of affairs, for the Guises, Marie Stuart's uncles, with the ultra-Catholic party, were now paramount; and the widowed queen mother Catharine de Medici, ambitious to rule France through her son, was already looking toward the Huguenots and the moderates to supplant the Guises for her advantage.

Philip, in accord with the final provisions of the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, married as his third wife the beautiful young daughter of the French king (Henry II), Elizabeth of Valois, who became the most dearly beloved of Philip's wives, and one of the most popular queen consorts of Spain; but the international object which her marriage was to serve (namely, the suppression of Protestantism) was practically ended before the sad wedding at Guadalajara took place (January, 1560),* for the design of Catharine de Medici was not to extinguish the Huguenots, which would have left the Guises masters of France, but to make use of them for her own elevation. It did not suit Philip either for the moment to make the Guises too powerful, for their niece was already Queen of France and Scotland and heiress of England, and if she became queen of the latter country, as she claimed to be, then indeed would Flanders be in jeopardy and Spanish influence at an end. A heretic England under Elizabeth was

* For particulars of this marriage see the author's Philip II.

bad enough, but a united French England and Scotland would have been worse still; so Philip threatened both England and France to force them to make peace, for Elizabeth was already attacking Leith. Elizabeth, however, knowing full well that Spain dared not weaken her for the benefit of the French, went on her victorious way, humiliated the Guises, and made herself secure against future danger on the Scottish frontier.

Philip's French marriage, indeed, though a domestic success, was nationally a failure. It brought the interests of the two countries no nearer together than before, and the efforts of the Spanish king's French consort for the rest of her gentle life were mainly directed toward keeping the peace between her brothers and her husband, while at the same time fruitlessly trying to direct Spanish policy to the political aggrandizement of her mother.

Suddenly the prospect again changed by the death of Marie Stuart's boy husband, Francis II, and the sun of Catharine de Medici rose, for the new king, Charles IX, was a child, and she was his guardian, and practically sovereign of France. She flouted her enemies, the Guises, and smiled upon the Huguenots, but Philip could only threaten, as he did; both Catharine and Elizabeth of England, with women's wit, were more penetrating than the laborious, plodding recluse in Spain, and knew that his hands were full and his treasury was empty, and that they both could afford to defy him. Philip's clumsy centralizing system, which threw upon him personally all the routine work of the state, with the help of ministers who were little better than clever clerks, was already making his diplomacy slow and easy to subvert, for all its craftiness. The infinite discussion and consideration by king and councils before anything was done, and the need for referring to the king even small points of detail, paralyzed the initiative of executive officers, gave time for spies to report and enemies to prepare, and caused,

in the long run, the failure of most of Philip's deeply laid schemes.

The first instance of this was in his attempt to reassert Spanish power in the Mediterranean. During his war with France it will be recollected that the Turkish galleys under Piali Pasha and Dragut Reis the corsair had raided Sicily, Naples, and Minorca, and on its way back had captured Tripoli from the Knights of Saint John. At the prayer of the grand master after peace between France and Spain was restored, Philip consented to aid him in recapturing Tripoli and punishing the Turk. The Spanish expedition, which consisted largely of hired Genoese galleys, with Italian, German, and Spanish troops, met with numberless delays and obstacles, in consequence of bad management and the need for consulting on every point Philip, far away in the centre of Spain. Many months passed before a start could be made from Messina, and when at length, in November, 1559, the fleet sailed, the men on it were sick and mutinous, 3,000 of them having died or deserted, the provisions were rotten, and the galleys foul. The Turks in the meanwhile were thoroughly prepared with a splendid fleet of 86 fresh galleys filled with janizaries, and Tripoli was crowded with men and material for defence. The Christians easily captured the small island of Gelves, where once before the navy of Spain had perished (1510), but shortly afterward the Turkish fleet surprised them. Panic seized the Christians; the leaders fled, 40 galleys and 5,000 men fell into the hands of the Moslem, while the Spaniards who had landed on the island fought heroically against terrible odds, without food or water, until they all fell, naked and starving, but fighting to the last * (March to June, 1560). Again the Turks lorded it over the Mediterranean,

* The Duke of Medina-Celi was in supreme command, but John Andrea Doria—the nephew of the great Genoese Andrea Doria—was in command of the galleys. Doria's cowardice and ineptitude were the principal reason of the disaster. Both he and the Duke of Medina-Celi deserted their men and escaped from Gelves in a swift vessel

and the following year another great Spanish fleet of hired galleys, intended to attack them, was totally lost in a storm.

Thenceforward, except for the aid given for the relief of Malta, until the ever-memorable day of Lepanto, Spain could but struggle to hold her little settlements on the north African coast, almost within sight of Spain, yet doomed by Philip's slow methods sometimes to clamour for months for aid against the overwhelming Moslem hosts that assailed them. The Cortes of Toledo (1560) remonstrated with the king about the danger to Spain of the naval power of the Turk. Philip could only reply that he was doing his best and working incessantly, as indeed he was. But he could never see that his system was at fault, and the personal concentration that ruined nearly all he attempted increased as time went on.

Spurred to action by the appeal of the Grand Master of the Knights of Malta in 1565, he consented to aid in the relief of the island, which was beset by a great Turkish fleet. France could do nothing to help the knights, for already the great Huguenot schism had divided her councils; the emperor had no resources and no galleys. Philip himself, as usual, was in the depth of penury. Every resource had been pledged to the Fuggers and the Genoese long ago, and every item of revenue anticipated. His Neapolitan realm was in semi-revolt at the attempt to enforce upon it the Spanish form of the Inquisition, and neither men nor money were easily

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under cover of night, while the Turks were busy with their prizes. The 2,500 troops of various nationalities and as many followers, who remained on the island under the heroic Spaniard Alvaro de Sande, held out against tremendous odds for nearly three months, until their number was reduced to 700. Twelve thousand Turkish cannon shots and 40,000 arrows had fallen into their fort, and the ammunition, food, and water of the defenders were exhausted when a sortie was attempted by Sande, and the whole of the Christians were put to the sword or carried into slavery. A most minute and curious series of contemporary accounts of this disaster will be found in El desastre de los Gelves, by Captain Fernandez Duro.

obtainable in Spain. Thanks, however, principally to the energy of his viceroy of Sicily, Garcia de Toledo, who clamoured in vain to his king for help, and the splendid heroism of the knights in holding out with their garrison of 10,000 men against 100,000 Turks, a force was mustered by Toledo in Sicily and sent to the relief of the island. Tempest scattered it more than once, and when at length it approached Malta (September, 1565) the heroic knights were almost at the last gasp. The coming of the aid gave them new spirit, and they still desperately fought on. While Philip was praying and walking in Church processions, as his contribution to the relief of Malta, and all Christendom was in dismay at the impending fall of the Christian outpost in the Mediterranean, Toledo was working indomitably, and with another Sicilian force appeared before the beleaguered island. The Turks began to lose heart. For many months they had battered without apparent effect; they were now exposed to attack from the rear, and after one last unsuccessful attempt to storm Saint Elmo they gave up the siege and retired. The Mediterranean was saved from being a Turkish lake, but though Spain got some of the credit of the great achievement, one of the most heroic in history, it was little that King Philip did toward it, for already centralization had introduced paralysis and dry rot into his administration.

Important as it was to Spain to cripple the Moslem in the Mediterranean, the mind of the king was centred upon a point which personally interested him more deeply. He was pledged to stamp out heresy, finally and absolutely, in all his dominions, and, as we have seen, he began with Spain, in order that the fountain of his power at least might be beyond suspicion. The net of the Inquisition had been cast widely, and its meshes had been well filled. Rich and poor, great churchmen like the primate of Spain, noble gentlemen like Juan Ponce de Leon, gentle ladies, devout nuns, learned physicians and lawyers, through all classes down to the humble

craftsman of Moorish blood, thousands had paid with their liberty and estates, many with their lives, for the crime of independent thought or inquiry into the subject of their own eternal salvation. But from Philip's point of view they had not suffered in vain, for when the king, with his poor lame, hydrocephalic son Charles by his side, opened the Cortes at Madrid * early in 1563, he told them that "in the matter of religion so much had been done and such careful and minute intervention effected; and the ministers of the Holy Office had been so actively aided and favoured, that not only had the evil, which had begun to spread, been utterly extirpated, but such precautions had been taken that with God's help the country was now, and would, it was hoped, remain in future, so far as its attachment to the Catholic faith and its obedience to the Roman Church were concerned, as pure, steadfast, and devout as could be hoped."

That this result had not been attained, even in Spain, in so short a time without considerable friction, is seen by the remonstrances of the Cortes against the excesses and abuses of the Holy Office and of the ecclesiastical judges, and especially against the enormous number of persons of all classes who became unpaid familiars of the Inquisition in order to escape the ordinary civil jurisdiction, and who were thus able to defy the law and commit all sorts of illegality. Philip paid but little attention now to the complaints of the Castilian Cortes. He insisted upon the ordinary and extraordinary supply being voted at once without discussion, and even, with but a half apology, raised funds by new impositions on his own authority; † and curtly refused or brushed aside the

* The representatives for Toledo and Burgos always disputed for precedence on the first day of the Cortes; but on this occasion the reading of the king's speech was delayed by a fight on the floor of the House between the deputies, who had to be forcibly separated by the alcaldes.

† The king, in his speech, told the members (1563) that the treasury was so utterly exhausted that every available item of revenue was

prayers of the assembly that the corruption and arrogance of the clergy and the growing landed untaxed wealth of the Church should be checked.

With the Aragonese Cortes, however, it was a very different matter. Philip was obliged to meet them in 1564, for he needed money badly; but the plain-speaking and peremptory demands of the Aragonese were always as gall and wormwood to him. On this occasion, in addition to enforcing an entirely new criminal procedure, which still further established the independence of the tribunals, the Cortes of Monzon spoke of the Holy Office in a way that shocked the king beyond expression. The principal complaints were the intrusion of the Inquisition into causes not purely doctrinal and the abuse of the army of nominal familiars being exempt from the civil law.

The Catalan Cortes soon afterward were more violent still, and the indignant king endeavoured to cut short their deliberations by summary prorogation. The Cortes of Aragon and Catalonia, however, kept the purse strings tight, and Philip had to give way. A new ordinance was drafted and issued (in 1568), strictly limiting the powers of the Inquisition in Aragon, and reasserting the supremacy of the civil courts in all but doctrinal causes. The Inquisition and the crown were always watched by jealous eyes in Aragon, and though Philip and his favourite tribunal had to bend on this occasion, they both nursed their wrath to keep it warm, and took their opportunity later to seek revenge on the stiff-necked Aragonese. It will be noticed that the opposition to the

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sold or pledged, and even the supply then to be voted had been anticipated. So poor was he, he said, that he had not money to maintain the ordinary defences of the country or meet the necessary expenses of his household. In reply, the members said that the country itself was so wretched and poverty-stricken that it could not vote much, but would do its best. They ended, as usual, by voting three years' supply—300,000,000 maravedis—with 150,000,000 extra, which had now become the rule.

Inquisition in Spain was not directed against either its methods or its objects, but only against the infringement of civil charters; so that we may conclude that, as Philip boasted in 1563, heresy was finally choked in the country, and that the people at large were in full sympathy with the process by which this was effected.

It had been necessary for the king to attain this object before he put into practice the plan which he had silently conceived in his gloomy spirit when Charles the emperor, with a voice choked by tears, had besought him to be good to the Flemings, whose sovereign henceforward he was to be. Mutual dislike and distrust had reigned between Philip and the Netherlanders while he remained with them. The maintenance of a force of Spanish troops in the Low Countries, and the appointment of a foreigner, Cardinal de Granvelle, as prime minister to the Regent Margaret, were infractions of the autonomous rights of the states. The rearrangement of the bishoprics—harmless in itself—had aroused the suspicion of the Flemings; the fear of the Spanish form of Inquisition, and the knowledge of the plan to extirpate Protestantism by fire and sword contained in the secret clauses of the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, had made the nobles, Catholics to a man, alert even before Philip's departure, to defend the privileges that had made their country rich and happy.

As the fell tribunal of the Holy Office swept over Spain the fears of the Flemings grew more acute. The Regent Margaret besought her brother to withdraw the foreign troops who made her government so detested; but, alas! Philip, as usual, had no money, and could obtain none, with which to pay them, and they would not march without it. It was not until he used his French wife's dowry for the purpose of satisfying the soldiery that Flanders was for a time freed of Spanish pikes (January, 1561). But the mischief was already done. A wide breach between sovereign and people had been opened, which could never again be bridged. De

Granvelle was the butt for the hatred of all men. Orange and Egmont resigned their seats at the council board as a protest against him. Montigny was sent to Spain to represent the view of the Flemish nobles to Philip, and in the meanwhile De Granvelle in Flanders and bigoted Alba in Madrid could only fume and bluster, urging Philip to treat Flanders as he treated Spain. But Philip was in no hurry. He coldly directed his sister to enforce the law at all costs—"the law" meaning in this case burning and torturing some of the most industrious and useful citizens of the states, which she knew, and said, she had no power to do; for the Flemish governors and princes refused to persecute and slay their fellow-subjects at the bidding of a foreign tribunal.

Thus matters went from bad to worse. Philip, unmoved and sphinxlike, suddenly, when it was too late, sacrificed De Granvelle in 1564, and for a few months the prospect was more hopeful, for Margaret was a Fleming who knew her countrymen from the first had disliked the persecution, which she foresaw would be worse than useless. The Flemish nobles came back to the council; Philip was all smiles, and his letters were gravely kind. But he still continued to insist upon the execution of the edict, notwithstanding Margaret's assurance that it was impossible, as the number of Protestants was large, and she could not burn whole populations. The inquisitors and officers appointed by De Granvelle, too, still continued their cruelty and corruption, and the dishonesty of those in authority who sought to grow rich before the impending avalanche fell increased the discontent of honest folk. In vain showy, shallow Egmont went to Madrid to beg the king to let Flanders govern itself in the old way. He was flattered and delayed, while sterner orders than ever went to Margaret to slay and spare not, for Philip was hardening his heart for the effort by which he thought he was to attain unity in Flanders by means of religion, even as had been done in Spain.

Alba fretted in the Spanish Council of State at Philip's slowness. "Make a clean sweep, once and for all," he said, "of these heretics." His king meant to do it if needful, but in his own good time. He knew that an army of pikes alone would finally be efficacious in such a case, and money, as we have seen, was hard to get. But by the end of 1565 his arrangements were made, and he hurled his thunderbolt. In a formal letter to his sister he announced his unbending will that the Inquisition should proceed with the utmost rigour to stamp out heresy, no matter at what sacrifice. "Let all prisoners be put to death, and suffer them no longer to escape through the neglect, weakness, or bad faith of the judges. If any judges are too timid to execute the edicts, I will replace them by men who have more courage and zeal." Margaret wept and passionately protested. The governors of the provinces, she said, would not burn 60,000 or 70,000 persons for her. The great Flemish nobles deserted the regent; *they*, at all events, would have no hand in such a hellish business, although they were Catholics. Then the *bourgeoisie* and the landed gentry of the north, most of them Protestants, arose and loudly declared that no Spaniard should burn them or theirs for their faith. To Protestant England flocked shiploads of fugitives, clamouring for aid and countenance from those whose blood was already boiling at the atrocities which the Inquisition had committed on English sailors and traders in Spain.

Elizabeth did not wish to quarrel with Philip, for Marie Stuart and the Guises were still a danger to her, but the cry of the Netherlanders found an echo that stirred the heart of all England, and, much as the queen might denounce such rebels to the Spanish ambassador, she and her ministers, and more particularly the Puritan party of them, shut their eyes and ears tightly to the help that was freely given to those who called themselves in derision of their enemies the Beggars of the Sea. Then came the outburst of Protestant fury—the

wrecking of churches and desecration of altars. The Regent Margaret could but weep, for she saw the tide of tragedy rising which was to drown her native land in blood, and wrest from the hands of her brother's race the best part of their ancient patrimony.

But Philip himself was blind and oblivious to all but the blood-boltered Christ, before whom he writhed in a maniacal agony of devotion, sure in his dark soul, as were so many of his countrymen, that the Divine finger pointed from glory alone upon him as the one chosen man who was to enforce upon earth the rule of the Most High, with—as a necessary consequence—Philip of Spain as his viceregent. Only once, even in appearance, had he wavered; but when news came to him that Orange had become a Protestant and had fled to Lutheran Germany to organize resistance, he knew the time had come when he must fight to the death for his Flemish dominions, or his system of enforced religious unity must fall to the ground, and the political predominance of Spain over Europe was doomed. He would go to Flanders himself, he said, though he probably never meant it; but, in any case, the ferocious Alba would go as his right arm. Like a blight the news fell upon the Netherlands. To England fled thousands of affrighted ones, for whom the very name of Alba was already a terror. Margaret herself threatened to retire if he came. Her brother took her at her word, and when the cruel Toledan duke marched with his army into Flanders (September, 1567) the regent washed her hands of the coming massacre of her countrymen and was coldly dismissed.

Elizabeth and her council were in a panic at the near neighbourhood of strong Spanish forces, for all Europe knew now that the great struggle of the creeds was to commence, and were uncertain where the blow was first to fall. Huguenots, Lutherans, and Anglicans were ranged on the one side; Philip, with solid Spain behind him, the Pope, and Catholics

generally, on the other; with Catharine de Medici cleverly balancing in France for her own advantage, and Elizabeth in England alternately hectoring and simpering, blowing hot and cold, as Leicester or Burghley was paramount in her council, but generally helping the Flemings as far as she could without open war with Philip.

Alba went about his hideous work with cold precision, no doubts assailing his mind as to the righteousness of his acts. The highest heads were to be struck at first, and Egmont and Horn, both Catholics, fell treacherously on the scaffold because they were leaders and beloved, while Bergues and Montigny were done to death in Spain for the same reason.* They were sacrificed not for heresy, but as a warning

* It was long believed by a certain school of writers that Philip sacrificed his only son and heir, Don Carlos, at this juncture for his supposed heresy. There is, however, now no room for doubt that the wretched youth, who from his birth was deformed and weak-minded, had become a dangerous lunatic after an accident to his head, and that his death was the result of his malady. His behaviour, even as early as 1563, was so violent and scandalous as to cause deep grief to his father; and as the prince grew older he became worse. There is a probability that he was approached by friends of the Netherlands, or perhaps by the Ruy Gomez peace party in Spain, and wished to be given the task of pacifying the Flemings. The king's refusal to let him go drove him to frenzy, and he tried to kill both Alba and Cardinal Espinosa. His hatred for his father was that of a homicidal maniac, and he divulged to his young uncle Don Juan that he would kill the king. His arrest by the king himself was therefore necessary. His ravings in prison and his refusal of nourishment for days together were acts of an hysterical imbecile with homicidal crises. Whatever may have been the result of the long trial—of which the records were destroyed—the wretched young man condemned himself to death (1568) by his own aberrations and excesses, and the story of his murder in prison is one of the many fabrications of the arch liar Antonio Perez. The death of Carlos took place only a few weeks before that of the beautiful Queen Isabel de Valois, his stepmother and originally his own proposed bride, to whom he was so madly attached. The story of her love for him is of course absurd, and his extravagant affection for her and his aunt Juana, also a proposed bride for him, was the obsession of a lunatic rather than the longings of a lover.

that there must be no more talk of the rights of Flanders as against Philip's will. Then, though the affrighted people flocked to church, and all was calm—for crafty Orange in Germany had not yet given the war cry—the massacre of Flemish men and women, Catholics and Protestants, commenced. A devastating tornado of slaughter swept through the populous, industrious communities, and the Flemings humbly bent their heads to the storm. On the 1st of July, 1570, Alba thought he had conquered, and from his splendid throne in Antwerp announced that Philip in his great clemency had granted an amnesty to all his faithful people. Heresy and revolt, he dreamed, were terrorized to death, and Holland, Flanders, and Artois held together with Spain by the iron band of religious uniformity.

But Alba and his master over rated their murderous victory. The alcabala, as we have seen, was ruining Spanish industry by limiting the consumption of food and manufactures to the places where they were produced and increasing their price to an extent which made them unable to compete with foreign produce. Spain itself was bleeding to death, but the trade and commerce of Flanders were then the richest in the world, and might be made to produce vast sums in taxes. Alba was in dire straits for money; his fierce soldiery was unpaid, and from the Castilian Cortes not a real over the ordinary and extraordinary grants of 150,000,000 maravedis a year could be obtained. At great sacrifice, Philip had arranged to borrow from the Genoese bankers a large sum for Alba's urgent need. The money was sent by sea at the lenders' risk, and most of the ships that carried it were chased by Huguenot and Dutch privateers into English ports, and there seized early in 1569 by Elizabeth, who applied the money to her own uses. Passionate protest, threats, and cajolery were exerted in vain to induce her to surrender it. She was quite as solvent as Philip, she said, and would borrow it herself. The Spanish ambassador, a hot-headed, insolent plotter, in close league

with Elizabeth's enemies,* was contumaciously expelled the country. Alba and Philip embargoed English property in Flanders and Spain, and Elizabeth retorted by seizing ten times as much Spanish property in England. Yet Philip dared not go to war with her, as Alba frankly told him, for with her aid Orange might raise Holland, and the King of Spain and the Indies could not squeeze another ducat from his distressed country, for he had pledged or sold everything he possessed. So to the rich commerce of Flanders he and Alba turned for relief. The Netherlanders always had a keen eye to their own interests and were skilful financiers. When therefore Alba tried to fix the alcabala, or tenth penny, upon them, they knew it meant ruin to their commercial pre-eminence, and they rose at last to face the tyrant in defence of their pockets more fiercely than they had ever risen to fight for their autonomy or their religious liberty. Thenceforward the causes of faith and sound finance were linked together, and the stubborn Dutchmen stood shoulder to shoulder until the battle of Protestantism and of freedom was won.

Of the incidents of the awful struggle details can not be given here. Massacre, without truce or mercy, cowed the Catholic Wallons and broke their spirit; but, through it all, Holland and Zeeland stood firm under the great leader Orange. There were two parties in Philip's councils, the party of unrelenting bigotry, led by Alba and Cardinal Espinosa, and that of peace and diplomacy, of which the king's only friend, Ruy Gomez, was the leader. In the absence of Alba, the latter party was paramount, and Philip himself became disgusted at the fruitless and endless slaughter in Flanders of Protestants and Catholics alike. Alba's own hard heart was well-nigh broken at his failure, for he could not

* He had commenced plotting with the imprisoned Marie Stuart as soon as he arrived, and was the principal mover in the Ridolfi plot, which was supported by the Duke of Norfolk and other English Catholic nobles.

kill all Holland. The English and the rebels held the sea, and arms and supplies came in plenty to Zeeland, while no Spanish ship dared to approach a Flemish harbour without strong escort, and Spanish commerce was well-nigh harried off the seas by privateers, and pirates who called themselves so.

Philip thought he was doing a holy work, and if it succeeded the sacrifice of life would not, in his view, have weighed a feather in the balance; but to sacrifice life, and especially the lives of Catholics, without object or result, was distasteful to him, for he had no love of blood for its own sake. Alba was therefore recalled in disgrace * (1573), and a new governor, Requesens, pledged to mildness and conciliation, was sent, to persuade, rather than drive, the Flemings to unity with Spain, the intention of the king being doubtless first to win back the Belgian Catholics who had been driven away by Alba's severity and the imposition of the "tenth penny," and then subsequently to deal with the Protestant Dutchmen separately and without mercy.

In the meanwhile matters were growing ever more wretched in Spain itself. It has already been pointed out that on the retirement of Charles the temporary burst of industrial activity that had succeeded the discovery of America was on the decline, and that the enormous expenses of the emperor's wars had reduced the resources of Spain to penury. A financial genius of the first order, with despotic power, might perhaps have rehabilitated public credit and have restored to some extent the prosperity of the citizens. But Philip was, if possible, a worse financier and political economist than his father, while the great struggle to which he had

* Alba himself boasted that he had burned or executed 18,000 persons in the Netherlands, in addition to the far greater number he massacred during the war, many of them women and children. Eight thousand persons were burned or hanged in one year, and the total number of Alba's Flemish victims can not have fallen short of 50,000.

pledged himself called for the employment of ever-increasing treasure, and he dragged his country still farther down the slope of bankruptcy. His system of raising money was to seize private remittances from the Indies; to levy forced loans on prelates, nobles, and wealthy persons; to borrow largely on the most usurious terms, which were afterward repudiated; and, above all, to sell crown seigniories, offices, and titles of nobility conferring exemption from ordinary taxation, and so to reduce future revenue. While the Cortes ceaselessly protested against these measures, the alternatives they proposed were, if anything, worse. Their remedies for national exhaustion took the form of prohibiting the export of precious metals, or their use in any form but coin, the hampering, and sometimes the suspension, of export of goods even to America; the arbitrary fixing of prices, with the foolish idea of rendering commodities cheaper, but with the real result of paralyzing industry; and the enactment of furious laws against extravagance in dress and eating by the upper classes, which laws were regularly disregarded after the first few weeks. The depletion of agricultural labour by the short-lived activity in the towns and by the constant drain of men for America and the wars had thrown large tracts of land out of cultivation,* while the ever-growing estates of the Church and nobles in mortmain badly cultivated, and paying no taxation, threw upon the remaining landed classes an increasing burden, which in many cases made the soil not worth cultivating.

Vagrancy and beggary were appallingly prevalent; the Church and the monasteries were crammed to overflowing with insolent idlers; the strangling of industry by alcabalas, tolls, and inland customhouses, the craze for elegance, pleas-

* Spain, the finest wheat-growing country in Europe, was obliged by famine to import large quantities of wheat on several occasions in the reign of Philip, who was forced to connive at the violation of his own edict and permit the importation of it even from England.

ure, and show, and the great number of Church holidays had now made most Spaniards adverse to labour; while the enormous number of so-called nobles or gentry, who looked upon all trade or handicraft as beneath them, added to the already existing prejudice against useful work.

Thus soon had the curse of extended empire and unsupported ambition produced its baleful effects. While Spanish fields remained untilled and Spanish industry dying, the strongest and best of the sons of Spain were swaggering in Milan, Naples, or Sicily; were garrisoning fortresses in north Africa, dying by thousands in the unknown wilderness of South and Central America, and fighting the hopeless battle against the forces of freedom in the Netherlands.

Spain, indeed, had undertaken a work too great for her strength, and though her people stood by their self-imposed task of the religious unification of Christendom with a tenacity which astonished and deceived the world, the end was inevitable, and that end was ruin. Upon the overburdened and poverty-stricken commoners of Castile the weight of world-wide expenditure fell. The Aragonese and Catalans, with their solid class parliaments, could, and did, take care of themselves. Milan, Naples, and Sicily were oftener a source of expense than of revenue, while barefaced corruption and malversation of Spanish officers diverted most of the State revenues from America, even when the galleons were not captured on their way by the English privateers.

With Spanish commerce nearly swept from the sea, with Spanish trade well-nigh dead, and the much-vaunted King of Spain a bankrupt without a rag of credit with foreign bankers, there was never any thought, either by monarch or nation, of a surrender of principle. In a month Philip might have pacified the Netherlands by giving full liberty of conscience, which would have left him the sovereignty of a contented and prosperous state; he might have insured the firm friendship of England and perfect safety for his commerce

by acknowledging some equality of creeds. All other questions were subsidiary to this. There was room and to spare in the wide Americas for Hawkins, Drake, and Cavendish, as well as for Philip, if Spain had been content to abandon the fetish of religious unity, in which, it is true, its own interior national solidarity was bound up, but which was not politically necessary for other countries.

The attitude of Spain during the sixteenth century and its extraordinary fidelity to an idea must not be attributed alone, as it usually is, to the personal character of the monarch. Philip II, in his gloomy pride, his mystic devotion, his overpowering individuality, was but the personification of the spirit of his people; for through disappointment and defeat, through misery, poverty, oppression, and suffering, they followed him with loyal devotion, almost with worship, to the unhappy end. We have in earlier chapters traced, step by step, the development of the Spanish character from the elements out of which it was formed; we have noticed its intense personality, its ecstatic veneration for divine forces, of which each individual conceived itself to be a part, its constant yearning for distinction by sacrifice in vanquishing the forces of evil. We have also remarked the fervid avidity with which, as a consequence, the people threw themselves into the spirit of knight-errantry. By the middle of the sixteenth century the glamour of giants and ogres and captive princesses was insufficient to satisfy minds which the literature of the Italian renaissance had rendered more practical and contact with foreign peoples had enlightened, but the introspective individuality of Spaniards was still as strong as ever, and sought for a fresh direction in which it might be displayed.

The religious fervour which first demonstrated itself in Isabel the Catholic, the exaltation induced by the Inquisition, and the ascetic mysticism which at once was the chief characteristic and the main policy of Philip II, provided for the

Spanish people the direction for which their spirit yearned. Priests and friars were ever present. In court, in camp, and in everyday life the atmosphere of rigid unified religion enveloped all things and persons. Hard, severe, and ascetic, as a protest against Moorish grace, cleanliness, and elegance, and equally against the sensuous beauty with which the Italians had invested their worship, the Spanish mind revelled in the painful, self-sacrificing side of religion, which appealed to their nature. They became a nation of mystics, in which each person felt his own community with God, and, as a consequence, capable of any sacrifice, any heroism, any suffering in His cause. The ruling idea was one of celestial knighthood, of daring adventure to rescue the cause of suffering Christ, even as the now waning knight-errants had undertaken to rescue ill-treated ladies. Saint Teresa de Jesus, Saint Ignatius Loyola and his marvellous company, and Saint Juan de la Cruz, with their visions and their ecstasies, were merely types; there was hardly a monastery without its fasting seer or its saintly dreamer, hardly a nunnery without its cataleptic miracle worker, hardly a barren hillside without its hermit, living in filth and abject misery of the flesh, but with the exalted conviction of his personal community with God. Not churchmen alone, but laymen and soldiers, too, were swayed by the same strange thought, and went forth to work or war in a spirit of sacrifice, relieved by orgies of hideous immorality. Philip himself, living like a hermit and toiling like a slave in his stone cell, practising rigid mortifications, and undergoing the voluntary suffering in which he gloried, was beloved by his people, because he was moved by the same instinct that they were. He led them, it is true, but he did so because they wished to tread the same road.

There was no great wealth behind this nation, except such as might be obtained by labour; it was ignorant and backward, with none of the ethnological solidarity which

lends force to a people. The English were more hardy and persistent, the French were more advanced, the Germans were more thoughtful and intelligent, the Italians were more refined; but yet, withal, none of them had this irresistible impetus which made Spaniards soldiers of Christ, each man inspired by a mystic strength beyond his own, and which gave to the Spanish nation in the sixteenth century a predominance in Europe which neither its resources nor its stage of development warranted.

It was this extraordinary exaltation which led Philip to intrigue in the new meeting of the Council of Trent (1562) to prevent the unification of Christendom on any lines but his own. French and German bishops, and a strong party in the Vatican itself, endeavoured to adopt resolutions permitting the marriage of priests and the administration of the sacrament in two kinds; but Philip haughtily dictated his will to the prelates, and when finally the Pope (Pius IV) remonstrated with him for thus meddling in doctrinal affairs, the pontiff was rated like a schoolboy by the Spanish ambassador, Vargas, and his bulls conveying the decisions of the council were contemptuously shut out of Spain because one of the resolutions was supposed to touch, ever so lightly, upon the omnipotence of Philip over the Spanish Church. When Pius died, in 1665, a very different man mounted the throne of Saint Peter. Michael Ghislieri (Pius V) was as arrogant as Philip himself, and a bitter struggle was inevitable. Pius purposely provoked it by issuing fresh bulls enjoining some reforms in Church administration. These bulls, as before, were refused currency in Spain, unless with Philip's countersign, and the Pope then opened his batteries by peremptorily ordering the bulls to be promulgated in the Spanish territories in Italy. The Spanish viceroys threatened to imprison any bishop who obeyed the Pope, and the latter excommunicated the viceroys. But the bishops and clergy had all to look to Philip for their places and pay and obeyed the king.

Then, in revenge, Pius refused to renew to Philip the right of selling the crusade bulls, but the Spaniards dared not refuse to buy them of their king, and the Pope's permission was for a time dispensed with. Threats and reproaches were showered from Rome on Philip for allowing the Inquisition to keep the Archbishop of Toledo (Carranza) in prison, and for spending the princely revenues of the see in building his vast monastery palace of the Escorial on the wild mountain side of the Guadarrama. But finally the Pope had to confess himself beaten, for to Philip and his people their great mission of unification needed no papal sanction, though it might claim its aid.

Another good instance of the way in which this fanatical feeling overrode all considerations of humanity, of justice, and even of self-interest, is seen in that most wicked and disastrous measure, the expulsion of the Moriscos from Andalusia. During the reign of Charles the whole of these people were nominally absorbed in the Catholic Church, and were in gradual process of amalgamation. Edicts had been passed forbidding them to wear their Moorish garb or to speak any language but Spanish, but they were industrious and prosperous, and their large special contributions to the emperor's treasury in times of need had caused the edicts to be very lightly enforced. Many of them, especially in the kingdom of Granada, secretly kept to the religion of their fathers, though openly conforming to Christianity. Their Christian neighbours, hating them for their thrift and prosperity, were not long after Philip's accession in finding a pretext for attacking them. They imported slaves from Africa to aid in their tillage, and this was prohibited by petition of the Cortes of 1560. It was a heavy blow to them, but still heavier was the edict of 1563 forbidding them to possess arms of any sort. The policy was continued in 1567, when an order was issued prohibiting any distinction of garb or appearance, and commanding that no woman should walk abroad with a cov-

ered face,* that no fastenings should be put upon the doors of Morisco houses, that Spanish names and the Spanish language alone should be used, and, above all, that the indulgence in warm baths, that special luxury of the Moslem, should be discontinued.

The people were quiet, hardworking, thrifty folk, but to see all their traditions trampled upon was more than they could bear. First they tried, as before, evasion and bribery, and in the meanwhile those who knew them best, such as Mendoza, Marquis of Mondejar, hereditary governor of Granada, tried to bend Philip to wiser councils. But the fanatical churchmen of the Alba party were now paramount (1567), and no mercy could be expected from them. At length (Christmas, 1568) the storm burst. From the mountains there swept down upon Granada a force of Moslem fanatics, sacking Christian houses and desecrating Christian shrines. Over the fair Vega passed a horde of incarnate demons, leaving only desolation behind them, and then to the savage fastnesses of the Alpujarras they retreated to erect a new Moslem kingdom under Aben Humeya, one of the prophet's kin. Through Andalusia and Valencia the news of the revolt of Islam spread. Thousands, who had well-nigh forgotten the great days of their forefathers under the caliphs, sprang to arms ready to die for the faith and the traditions that once had been so glorious.

Army after army of Christians were hurled upon them with the openly avowed object of massacre—not war. Women and children, as well as men, were slaughtered in cold blood. How many thousands fell in the attacks and inevitable reprisals it is impossible now to say. Six thousand helpless women and children fugitives were sacrificed in one

* This practice had taken such firm hold of the people of the south of Spain that traces of it remain to the present day in Andalusia, where the women of the poorer class constantly cover the lower part of the face with the corner of a shawl. In Peru and Chili the custom is even more universal.

day by the Marquis de los Velez, but still the churchmen were not satisfied. In the council chamber and the cathedral they cried for blood, and ever more blood—just as the same men did for the blood of Flemish heretics at the hands of their chief Alba. In vain the civil governors, and even soldiers, advocated some moderation, some mercy. Deza the inquisitor and Espinosa the cardinal in their purple robes knew no mercy for those who denied their sacred right to impose a doctrine upon other men.

Tired at length of the complaints of the churchmen against the slackness of the soldiers, Philip decided to send his brilliant, handsome young base-brother Don Juan to suppress the rising. The bastard of Austria was gifted and beloved beyond most men of his time; he was only twenty-two, and it was thought that he would be too high for the priests to attack and too inexperienced to do otherwise than carry out to the letter his brother's orders. The hanging of Moriscos was ill suited to his chivalrous temper, and he chafed under the dictation of the merciless orders he had to execute. Every Morisco in Granada was to be sent to arid Castile, and those who resisted or were unable to travel were to be hanged (1569). In despair, thousands of innocent creatures, many of them really Christians, were hounded from the fair fields which they and theirs had tilled for centuries, and driven forth to slavery.

In the meanwhile the war continued in the mountains. Division had broken out in the so-called Moorish kingdom, and Aben Humeya, sunk in licentiousness, was murdered; the Spanish troops had conquered and had been conquered in partial engagements over and over again; but at length Don Juan successfully stormed Galera, the country was exhausted, and the Moorish king begged for terms of peace. Don Juan himself was on the side of clemency, but the churchmen in Philip's council would have none of it. Death or slavery for every creature of Moorish blood in the king-

dom of Andalusia was the stern command. From their beautiful plains, cultivated like gardens, from the fair white cities which glistened on the slopes, from the stony mountains that these people had made to smile with painfully watered crops, they were cast out, even as their brethren of Granada had been. In chains and through the deep winter snows of the Sierra Morena they were dragged in hopeless gangs to Castile, many to die upon the road, and the rest to linger in servitude among strangers. Don Juan, with a heavy heart, carried out the fell decree, and by the end of 1570 Andalusia was clear of Moriscos, and at the same time clear of its best and most useful citizens. A few men, like Mondejar, Ruy Gomez, and Don Juan himself, saw this and deplored it bitterly, but the vast number of Spaniards and their king saw nothing, knew nothing, regarded no cruelty, cared for no interest; they had been selected to do God's work in extirpating unbelief, and woe to those who stood in his and their way.

But zealot as Philip was, he had considerations to take into account of which his subjects knew nothing. His system was already breaking down; his eternal discussions and the sending of documents backward and forward, his insistence in directing everything himself, enabled alert adversaries, like Elizabeth and Catharine de Medici, to learn all his plans long before they were put into execution.* The second plot in which Philip entered—to murder Elizabeth, through Ridolfi, the Duke of Norfolk, and many of the Eng-

* The long marriage juggle of Elizabeth is a good instance of this; and also the action both of Elizabeth and Catharine de Medici when the latter had been drawn into an interview with Alba, at Bayonne, on the occasion of the meeting of Catharine and her daughter, Philip's third wife. The French queen mother found that she was expected to pledge herself to extirpate every Huguenot from France; and although she pretended to approve of the treaty, she soon found a way out of it, while Elizabeth's counter-move was to suggest a marriage between herself and the young King of France. Elizabeth and Catharine understood perfectly that to have allowed Philip to rule the policy of either country would be ruin to both.

lish Catholic nobles—was discovered and frustrated; he was befooled and betrayed in his design to buy Hawkins and his fleet to attack England. Cecil, who had his spies everywhere, knew exactly the persons with whom the King of Spain was plotting, and was sometimes really at the bottom of the pretended plots himself; and yet Philip, conscious though he was of failure in Flanders through the English help to Orange, constantly discovered and derided for his futile conspiracies against Elizabeth, with his galleons captured regularly at sea, and their crews hanged by English pirates, beggared in credit, and with disaster surrounding him on all sides, dared not openly quarrel with the "heretic" queen who had frustrated all his proud plans. Storm as the churchmen and soldiers might at her "insolence" and her wickedness, Philip, to save his own country from utter ruin, was obliged to open his ports at last to English trade (1573) without restitution of the vast plunder that had been taken from him four years before; he was forced to condemn the granting by the Pope of the bull excommunicating the English queen, and he was fain to shut his eyes to the sturdy support from England which kept alive the revolt in Holland. For it was evident now that he could never overcome Protestantism in Europe unless England were friendly to him. If England were made Catholic, by the murder of the queen or otherwise, so much the better; but, in any case, Protestant or Catholic, England must be appeased. This of itself is sufficient to show the weakness of Spain's pretension; the end she sought could only be gained by a sacrifice of principle, to the extent of holding a candle to the leading Protestant power.

But though the king saw this, his blinded people did not. For them England was an insignificant half-savage island that had fallen into the hands of a gang of heretics, who would collapse in terror at the very name of Spain. They knew that their commerce was devastated by English sailors, and that their king's enemies were supported by English men,

arms, and gold; but they lived still in their fool's paradise, inflated with the idea of the fabulous wealth of their king, who was in the depths of poverty, boasting of the overwhelming power of their country, which was unable to defend its own property, and buoyed up with the conviction of Divine assistance, when failure met them on every side. All this, they said, was a trial specially sent to them by God to prove their steadfastness. He, in His good time, would strike for His own cause and theirs, and they never lost their faith.

In the hour of exaltation, after the Moriscos had been expelled from Andalusia (1570), Philip was in Seville with Don Juan, when there arrived a special legate from the Pope. Pius V was still on bad terms with Spain, and the Venetian republic had usually made common cause with France against Aragonese objects; but they were now both in trouble, for the Turks were besieging the Venetian island of Cyprus, and its capture was a danger for all Christian states on the Mediterranean. So the Pope offered Philip the crusade bull again and greater power than ever over the Spanish Church, if he would join his galleys to those of Rome and Venice and conquer the Turkish navy.

Philip distrusted the Venetians and had no love for the Pope, but after much prayer to the bones of Saint Fernando and much heated persuasion from Don Juan he consented to the request. Cyprus fell to the Turk before Philip's clumsy method enabled a fleet to be prepared, but by the summer of 1571 a fine force was collected at Messina: 208 galleys, 6 galeasses, and 50 small craft, with 29,000 soldiers and 50,000 sailors and oarsmen, formed one of the greatest naval displays ever seen on the main. Don Juan was in command, and religious exaltation now found its apogee. It was a true crusade; every man on the fleet fasted, confessed, and was absolved. A crucifix was at the prow of every galley, blessed banners waved overhead, and the cry which the splendid young prince in white velvet and gold sounded as the call

to battle was "Christ is your general. You fight the battle of the Cross." Jesuits and monks crowded the ships of the crusading fleet; prayer, sacrifice, and self-denial were the watchwords of the Christian host. The navies met in the Bay of Lepanto on the 7th of October, 1571, and the Turks made a brave show, for they had thitherto been victorious. But who could withstand a spirit such as that shown on the Spanish side? The Turkish predominant sea power in the Mediterranean was destroyed for ever, and Don Juan was the Christian hero, saint and soldier both, whom men and women throughout southern Europe hailed almost as a demi-god. He, too, was a Spaniard, tinged with the fanatical belief of his countrymen, and he dreamed of great Christian empires to be won in north Africa, in the East—who knows where? He was but a youth, and success and adulation turned his head.

Philip could not afford risky adventures. He was cold and irresponsive, and left his brother without money or support. Tunis and Goleta were recaptured by the Turk and the Spanish garrisons were slaughtered. Don Juan stormed and prayed, but marble Philip had no notion of allowing his plans to be diverted or controlled for the benefit of his bastard brother, and he moved not. Sage advisers were placed by the side of the young prince, but his enthusiasm won them over to his heated dreams. At length Philip determined to remove him from the scenes of his triumph and his ambition, and sent him as his viceroy to Flanders, where affairs needed a conciliatory hand.

Requesens had begun by separating the Catholic Belgians from Orange and his Dutch Protestants; but the latter, who were determined never to trust Spaniards again, turned a deaf ear to his insincere approaches, and more than held their own by force of arms. Philip was, as usual, short of money, and the Catholic Flemings were chafing still at the presence of a large force of unpaid murderous, ruffianly Ital-

ian and Spanish soldiers, who would not move out of the country without their pay. To them every Fleming, Catholic and Protestant, was the same—an inferior creature, to be insulted and plundered, if not murdered.

In vain the Catholics and Requesens had prayed Philip to send money to get rid of these ruffians, or all would be lost. Philip was bankrupt of means and credit, and matters were growing worse and worse, when Requesens died (March, 1576). Urgent messages were sent to Spain by Philip's most faithful adherents that unless the troops were sent away Catholic Flanders would soon be as utterly lost to Spain as Protestant Holland. It was then that the unhappy king, at his wits' end, decided to send Don Juan to Flanders, with orders to conciliate the Belgic provinces at any cost, and to order the Spanish troops out of the country. But the young prince's wild plans had been frustrated, and he was in no conciliatory mood. The Pope (Gregory XIII) and others had already whispered to him that if he could not be emperor of the East, he might, with the Spanish troops, make a dash from the Netherlands, conquer England, liberate and marry the captive Marie Stuart, and bring England and Scotland into the fold of the Church. Don Juan listened and was lost. The nuncio hinted at the plan to Philip, and Don Juan himself disobeyed orders and rushed to Madrid to urge his views. Philip was grim and silent, but he knew his brother must be suppressed, or he would lead him into trouble; for with Holland against him and his own Catholic Flanders doubtful, his only chance of averting utter ruin was to keep friendly with England.

So Don Juan was sternly sent on his way to Flanders to coax the mutinous troops to march to Italy and win back the Catholic Flemings by kindness. He went with bitterness in his heart, and he arrived too late. The murderous rabble had swooped down upon Antwerp (November 4, 1576), and in one appalling day had reduced the richest city in

Europe to a reeking shambles. Catholics joined to Protestants now, standing shoulder to shoulder in defence of their homes and children, and when Don Juan arrived at Luxemburg he found that he would only be allowed to enter the states as governor on terms dictated by the burghers. He prayed in vain to Philip to let him stand and fight. The answer was, "Make peace on any terms consistent with my sovereignty," and from this formula Philip would never move. At length money was borrowed to give the troops an instalment of their pay, and they marched sulkily away, followed by the curses of a united nation; while Don Juan, with all his hopes gone and with hatred in his heart, entered Brussels amid a joyful populace who had wrung from the Spaniard the promise of toleration and forgiveness for the past.

The victor of Lepanto hated his task, and foolishly rebelled against it. With every wild, incoherent letter his brother's heart hardened, for the villain Perez was at the king's ear, whispering suspicion and distrust of the ambitious bastard. Don Juan, heartbroken at neglect and mad with impatience, disobeyed orders, treacherously seized the fortress of Namur, and defied the Flemings. Then a war of reconquest was inevitable. Don Juan was left to die in misery and disappointment (October, 1578), and a cooler brain than his, Alexander Farnese, of Parma, son of Philip's half-sister Margaret, was sent to win Flanders again for Spain, and, if possible, to crush Orange and his Protestant Dutchmen.

Almost simultaneously with this events happened which altered Philip's prospects. For twenty years he had striven to keep friendly with Elizabeth of England. As we have seen, he had been insulted, defied, and robbed; his rebellious subjects had been supported against him for years, and looked now to the English queen as their mistress; his ambassadors had been contemptuously expelled from England, and his every plan had been frustrated by the clever statesmanship

of the "heretic" queen. Yet he dared not retaliate, except by the constant secret subornation of conspiracy and murder, and by the giving of timid, insufficient aid to the disloyal English and Irish Catholics. He knew that France hungered for the fine harbours of Belgium, and that any national movement of his against England would have meant a close alliance between Catharine de Medici and the English queen, which would have brought both nations against him. If, moreover, he deposed Elizabeth to make Marie Stuart queen and raise the French Guises to power in Great Britain as well as in France, it might have resulted in the crushing of Protestantism; but, in any case, it was certain to make France the preponderant power and dwarf Spain. So, for twenty years, Philip never went beyond cautious plotting against Elizabeth.

But in August, 1578, there fell in a foolish, unnecessary crusade against the Moors Philip's harebrained young nephew Sebastian, King of Portugal, and he was succeeded by his aged childless uncle. There were many claimants to the old king's succession, but none so powerful as the King of Spain. The Portuguese people themselves chose Don Antonio, a doubtfully legitimate relative of the royal house; but bribery of nobles, systematic terrorism of high and low, were practised by Philip, and when the cardinal king died, in 1580, Philip was ready with an army under Alba and himself to take possession of his new kingdom.* The Portuguese were weak and divided, the nobles all bought or banished, and Philip slowly proceeded in the wake of his army to be crowned King of Portugal; while the fugitive Don Antonio,

* Philip's fourth wife, Anne of Austria, died at Badajoz while on this journey, and soon after her most of her surviving children died. Philip remained a widower for the rest of his life. A most affecting series of letters from him to his two elder daughters by his third wife, written during this voyage, has been published by M. Gachard, Paris, 1884, in which Philip's grief for his domestic bereavements and his affection for his children are strongly expressed.

hunted from town to town, in hourly danger, at length escaped to France, and thence to England, to be a sharp weapon in the hands of Elizabeth and Catharine against Philip for the rest of his life.

The possession of Portugal by Spain enormously increased Philip's power for harm both to England and France. The portion of America allotted by the Pope to Portugal went with the mother country, as well as the vast African dominions and the hold on India, while the splendid harbour of Lisbon gave to Spain what she had never had—a good central port of easy access on the Atlantic. Philip had taken care to fulfil all the constitutional forms: he had been accepted by the regents and by the Portuguese Cortes, so that neither England nor France could legally question his right; and it seemed as if at last the tide of fortune had turned for him. Other things, too, favoured Philip for the moment. The King of France, Henry III, was childless, and only one life—a bad one—stood between the Huguenot Henry of Navarre, the hereditary enemy of Spain, and the French crown. This obviously meant a recommencement, in a more bitter form than ever, of civil war in France, and turned the Guises, the Catholic leaders, entirely to Spain as their only support in their ambitious views for themselves. An agreement was therefore soon made, by which the Guises undertook to be Philip's humble servants and to serve Spanish interests instead of French in case their cousin Marie Stuart became Queen of England.

Philip probably did not depend overmuch upon this engagement of the Guises, but he knew that by supporting their cause he could keep them too busy in France for them to trouble him in England. So gradually in Philip's slow mind the great plot matured by which the world might, after all, be made Catholic. Incautious Marie Stuart, in her prison, was in close communication with the Spanish ambassador, and she, too, was drawn into the dangerous series of con-

spiracies that ultimately brought her to the scaffold. Spies were everywhere, and every communication to and from the wretched woman was read by Elizabeth's ministers. More and more bitter grew the relations between the English queen and Philip, who now for the first time felt safe from France, which he knew, with the Guises in his pay, he could plunge into a civil war at any time he wished. Drake's murderous depredations on Spanish shipping and treasure drove Philip's subjects mad with thirst for vengeance, and redoubled their fanatical hate of the heretics. Parma's diplomacy had pacified the Catholic Flemings, and the King of Spain must have thought now that the national dream of which he had well-nigh despaired might yet come true. But the business of the invasion and conquest of England was a great one, and could not be undertaken lightly.

There were two parties of English and Scottish Catholics: the French or moderate party, which predominated at the Vatican, and the extreme Jesuit party, which looked with horror upon the possibility of shifty James Stuart—even if he called himself a Catholic—succeeding to his mother as Queen of England and Scotland. The latter party were all-powerful in Philip's councils, and soon persuaded him that his own claim to the English crown was a perfect one after that of Marie, since James was excluded by his "heresy."* The unfortunate queen had fallen entirely into the hands of the Spanish party, and in June, 1586, disinherited her son in favour of Philip.

As usual, money was Philip's main difficulty. The cost of invading England was so enormous, as estimated by his great admiral, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, that, even in its greatly modified † and, as it turned out, impossible form,

* It will be recollected that a daughter (Philippa) of John of Gaunt by his first wife, Blanche Plantagenet, married John I of Portugal, and a daughter of his by his second wife married Henry III of Castile.

† His plan was to raise a vast force to sail direct from Spain—150 great ships, 320 smaller craft, 40 galleys, 240 pinnaces, with 30,000

the plan was far beyond the means obtainable from Spain itself. A large sum had therefore to be obtained from the Pope (Sixtus V), and the most extraordinary series of intrigues resulted, in order that the papal aid might be obtained without unmasking to the Pope Philip's subsequent intentions with regard to the crown of England.* Sixtus was clever and frugal; he had no desire to aggrandize Philip politically; and he was surrounded by French and Italian cardinals, who were determined, if possible, to prevent the domination of England and Scotland by Spain. Partly, however, by trickery, and partly by appeals to his religious zeal, Sixtus was induced to give to Philip a free hand, and only imposed as a condition that the million gold crowns which he promised should not be payable until the Spaniards actually landed in England. From this point no cajolery, no menace, would move him, for he distrusted Philip most profoundly. All Spain, Portugal, Sicily, and Naples rang with preparations for the great expedition, while the fanaticism of the people, already inflamed at Marie Stuart's death, was raised to fever heat by the denunciations by the priests of the wicked Elizabeth, and assurances that the oppressed people of England were looking to Spain alone for salvation from the handful of heretics that held them down. Forced loans were raised from nobles and clergy, from merchants and manufacturers; taxes and extortions of all sorts were resorted

seamen and 70,000 soldiers and 1,600 horses. The cost was to be 3,800,000 ducats = £470,000. It was felt that the concentration and sea transport of such a force as this from Spain was impossible.

* Philip, although he was constantly plied with arguments and genealogies by the Jesuit party, led by Father Persons, and by the representatives of the English Catholic nobility to prove his own absolute right to the English crown (which, like all claims derived from the house of Lancaster, was valueless without parliamentary sanction), knew that he would not be allowed to treat England as an appanage of Spain. His own intention, though carefully kept in the background, was to confer the English crown upon his dearly beloved eldest daughter by his third wife, Isabel Clara Eugenia, to whom he left the sovereignty of Flanders.

to to raise funds; but withal, the poverty and misery of the country seemed to forbid the vast sums required being raised. In 1586 the Cortes told a dismal story of distress to the king, and only voted the usual 450,000,000 maravedis spread over three years, with the assurance of many deputies that even this could never be paid by their constituents. Every member of Cortes was now largely bribed; but when the Armada was nearly ready for sea, in April, 1588, the Cortes were summoned, and a demand made for 8,000,000 ducats (£1,000,000). They were dismayed, and boldly told the king that such a sum was impossible. But the altar and the confessional were set to work in every corner of Spain, and by their influence over the populace the deputies were screwed up to the point of voting a new excise upon food, which well-nigh completed the ruin of the unhappy country, and for the next two centuries blighted agriculture and industry under the hated name of the "Millions."

Poverty dogged the great plan of invasion from the beginning. Philip worked like a galley slave, arranging every little detail; corruption, fraud, and waste were rampant, and thousands of ducats were stolen by officers while the king was haggling over one. No initiative or responsibility was allowed to officers, however high, under Philip's system, and the constant need for referring to the centre of Spain from distant places caused paralysis and delay. First the fleet was to sail in 1587, but nothing was ready—neither arms, men, nor ships. Then Drake outwitted the spies, and made a dash for Cadiz, destroying the shipping there and preventing the sailing of the Armada for that year. Provisions went rotten and had to be replaced; bad weather delayed the concentration of ships; the fine old sailor Santa Cruz died of a broken heart at Philip's unjust reproaches. Money, money, and ever more money was the cry, for wages ran on as the months slipped away, and thousands of waiters and idlers had to be fed. Jealousy and indiscipline reigned supreme among the

nobles and officers, and Philip was obliged to choose a fool and a coward to command the fleet because of his high rank. Failure was inevitable from the first, except under circumstances wholly favourable. Santa Cruz foresaw it; Parma foretold it, and begged Philip to let him make peace with England in reality, by turning the sham negotiations then being carried on to real ones; even the miserable Medina Sidonia knew it, and urged Philip, when the fleet was driven into Corunna stormbeaten, to abandon the expedition.

The plan agreed upon was for Parma to stand ready at Dunkirk with a large army, mainly Flemings, Germans, and Italians, ready to be shipped in punts, whose passage across to the mouth of the Thames was to be protected by the Armada. Everything depended upon the fleet being able to hold the straits while the boats crossed, and this largely depended upon the weather. The long delay of the Armada in sailing from Lisbon, and its ignominious return to Corunna, disabled and scattered (June 19), after three weeks at sea, drove Parma to despair, for his soldiers were unpaid, scourged with deadly pestilence, and already disheartened, and his sailors mostly were disaffected Flemings. Medina Sidonia, too, as soon as he sailed, began to clamour for Parma to come out and meet or support him, and in answer to appeals, which became more frantic and craven as the helplessness of the Armada became apparent, he invariably was told curtly that not a punt would be moved nor a man available until the ships of the fleet had cleared and held the narrow sea.

But, whatever experts might say, the Spanish nation and king had no thought of failure. Were not their ships the biggest that sailed the sea? Were not their soldiers the best in Europe? And, above all, was not this God's own battle? And once again the old inflated delusion carried the nation away. Fine gentlemen by the hundred, in velvets and gold chains, crowded the ships, swaggering and hectoring over the sailormen, believing themselves to be in all sincerity members

of God's militia, bound on a sacred adventure; priests and friars mumbled their masses; sacred banners, woven by fair hands and blessed by prelates, waved at the peaks; and the instructions for the behaviour of soldiers and sailors were more befitting a convent school than an invading army and navy. The fleet that finally sighted the Lizard on Sunday, July 30, 1588, consisted of about 120 sail, and the story of its utter discomfiture is one of the most stirring in the history of warfare.

In the week's running fight up the Channel the national dreams of a century were dissipated. Where was their much-vaunted superiority? the miserable men asked. Where the special Divine protection which had been promised to them and their cause? The heretics could sail round them and defy them, and as they struggled farther up the channel, with the English ever harassing them at long range day by day, the scales fell from their eyes. Then came the rage of disillusionment, the panic off Calais, the great fight near Gravelines, the impossibility of getting back to Dunkirk, and, finally, flight, disgrace, and destruction. Parma, Medina Sidonia, their ships, the weather, were all blamed, with tears and curses; but the real fault was the mad blindness of a nation, and it was a bitter awakening not only for the poor wretches upon the Armada itself, but for all Spain. From the very heart of the whole people there went up a wail of rage and disappointment that told of more than material loss, great as that was. It meant a shaking of the nation's belief in its special sanctity and in its divine mission.

Philip alone was unmoved in appearance at the crowning catastrophe of his life; but he, at least, understood its dire significance. Ruin and failure for the object of his life, and the knowledge that the despised heretics, that his rebel subjects, that the Jezebel of England had defeated him finally; that the Pope had got the better of him after all; and that the French were rubbing their hands gleefully and sneering at

his disgrace—this he must have seen, but he never lost heart. It was God's own cause, and He would send final victory.

The wretched Henry III of France had been kept from aiding Elizabeth in her hour of peril by his hard taskmasters, the Guises and the Catholic League. The next heir to the French crown had died (1584), and Henry of Valois was the last of his evil race. Henry of Navarre, the Huguenot prince next in the succession, had been approached more than once by Spain, but the great Bourbon was determined to be, like Elizabeth of England, a national sovereign, free from foreign tutelage, and he turned a deaf ear to Philip's charming. He would have all France or nothing, though if he had been contented with Béarn and Gascony he could have had them for a kingdom without fighting. Philip's daughter Isabel, through her mother, had a good claim to the duchy of Brittany; her sister's husband, the Duke of Savoy, might occupy Provence; the Guises would have been delighted with the centre and east, including Paris, where they were idolized; and Philip himself could grasp Picardy, French Flanders, and perchance a slice of the Norman coast. Such a division as this would have been a master stroke, and have given to Spain the command of the Channel, to the ruin of England and Holland; but Henry of Navarre looked to Elizabeth for aid, and refused to be a party to the dismemberment of the nation he regarded as his own.

Threats, cajolery, papal excommunication, and open warfare failed to move him. Under the pressure of the Guises the edict of toleration for the Huguenots was withdrawn by the king, and the result was a state of anarchy throughout France. Henry III, a fugitive from his own capital, which loathed him, a mere puppet in the hands of Guise, knew that he and his country were to be sacrificed to the interests of Spain, and took the desperate course of having the Duke of Guise and his brother murdered, almost in his presence at Blois (December, 1588). The result was as his clever mother

had foretold: throughout France there rang denunciations of the royal assassin, and Paris solemnly deposed him, setting up a revolutionary government under the Duke of Mayenne, Guise's brother, who cast himself and all Catholic France at the feet of Philip of Spain.

This surely was the opportunity by which the Almighty meant to recompense Philip for all the cruel disappointments of the past. If he could dominate or divide France he would have no rival on the continent, and his design of a unified Christendom, on the Spanish model, might yet come to pass. So again he strained every nerve to aid the Catholic League, and bled his suffering country to exhaustion, to prevent what would have meant utter ruin to his cause—the turning of France into a Protestant country under Henry of Navarre.

Henry III had fled after Guise's murder to the protection of the Huguenots, and with Henry of Navarre was besieging Paris at the head of 40,000 men, when the last of the Valois fell under the dagger of a bigoted monk, Jacques Clément, and Henry of Navarre became *de jure* King of France (August, 1589). The council in Paris proposed to proclaim Philip Catholic King of France, but the Guisan Mayenne had ambitions for himself and his family, and procured the appointment as a stop-gap of the aged, infirm Cardinal de Bourbon, who was in the hands of his Huguenot nephew, and was never allowed to rule. Paris was violently Guisan, but the resources of the country were mostly in the hands of the legitimate king, Henry IV, and Philip was forced into the same position with regard to France as he had been with regard to England. He must throw aside the mask and reconquer France by force of arms, in order to make her Catholic. He had no notion of incurring the awful sacrifice which this entailed upon Spain to benefit the unstable Mayenne, and he was driven by circumstances to wage a national war of conquest against France, in order that a Spanish ruler might force Catholic unity upon her. This gave to Henry

IV the enormous advantage of appearing to champion the national cause against the foreigner, and contributed largely to his popularity. Mayenne, jealous and vaguely ambitious, soon fell out with Parma and the Spanish commanders, and lent but half-hearted support to the invaders, upon whom fell the whole weight of the war.

Philip was old and suffering; the drain upon his resources was so enormous as to have reduced Castile to absolute desolation, and yet he knew that he must fight to the very death to prevent France from becoming a Protestant country. Parma himself was resentful of the cold half-confidence with which his uncle treated him and the insufficient resources sent to him. Philip was always grudging and ungenerous to those who served him best, and he broke Parma's heart, as he had broken that of Don Juan (December, 1592); for the Catholic zealots in Spain had begun to whisper that the great Farnese was disloyal, as they had done at the time of the Armada. The struggle was going against the Spaniards. The splendid dash and fine diplomacy of Henry of Navarre, the constant aid of Elizabeth to the Huguenots, and the growing distrust, even of the Catholic Leaguers, that Philip's only aim was to seat his daughter on the throne of France for his political ends, in time convinced the King of Spain that he could never dominate the whole of France with Spanish arms against the will of Frenchmen. The next best thing was to attempt to seize Brittany for his daughter, and with this object he occupied Blavet, on the coast, which brought English national troops on the scene and increased the chances against him.

One attempt he made by diplomacy to secure the election of his daughter as Queen of France by the Estates in Paris, on condition of her marriage with the young Duke of Guise, but it failed; for Philip's ambassador, Feria, was no match for Henry of Navarre, who was already posing as the patriotic Frenchman, willing even to become a Catholic for the good

of his country if he were sufficiently persuaded. The step was taken. Henry went to mass, and won the heart of Paris and of France (1593).

Thus fell Philip's hopes of dominating France; but at least he had succeeded in preventing it from becoming a Protestant power, and with this, perforce, he had to be content. The state of war between France and Spain continued languidly until Philip's death, because he was too proud to confess his defeat, but with the conversion of Henry IV the momentous issue was finally decided. Unified Catholicism of the Spanish pattern was beaten as a force in Europe. Orange had been murdered by a Spanish-paid assassin's bullet, but Holland was strong enough now to hold her own without fear of Spain. France was a Catholic country, but perfect religious toleration existed. The outlook in England was dark, for a disputed succession on the death of the aged queen seemed inevitable; but it was manifest that, come what might, the Inquisition and Spanish Catholicism would never be allowed to gain a footing there, let the Jesuits labour as they might. Thus, almost on every side, Philip again could only see the wreck of vast ambitions, the frustration of hopes reaching as high as heaven, the denial of fervent prayers, national bankruptcy, and personal defeat.

But still, through age and sickness, through sufferings so awful that the mere relation of them is best avoided, he never faltered in his faith. He could not be wrong, because he was on God's side, he thought. Failure, disaster, catastrophe, came thus again and again, because, for some inscrutable reason, it was the Divine plan to lead him and his people by that hard road to victory. It never entered Philip's head that his system was at fault or that his gifts were insufficient for his task, and to the last he never lost belief in the divinity of his mission and that of Spain to dominate Christendom by Catholic unity.

Philip's last years were imbittered by other troubles be-

yond those resulting from his struggle with Protestantism. A comparatively trivial circumstance gave rise to a constitutional struggle between the king and the Aragonese, who were always so jealous of any attempt to infringe upon their privileges. Philip had in 1578 ordered his principal secretary, a brilliant, plausible scoundrel named Antonio Perez, to have a certain Escobedo, a troublesome emissary of Don Juan's, murdered. The deed was not done at the time, and when it was committed, six months afterward, public gossip connected with it the names of Perez and the Princess of Eboli, the widow of Ruy Gomez. Philip was annoyed at the scandal, and partially disgraced Perez. But with the return of the Alba party to power in 1580 the king's eyes were gradually opened by Perez's enemies to the knowledge that the secretary had deceived him, especially with regard to Don Juan, that Escobedo's murder was really to avenge a slight upon the princess, and that state secrets had been betrayed. Perez was cast into a dungeon for several years, and finally tried for the murder which he had committed, it is true, by the king's orders, but really to please his mistress. He had many friends and a strong political party on his side, who, being ignorant of the real facts, were shocked at the apparent injustice of this action; and after torture Perez managed to escape to Aragon, where he knew he would be safe from summary arrest even by the king, if he claimed the protection of Aragonese procedure. Perez knew better than any man in the world the secrets of Philip, and the latter, in a furious rage, sent orders to Aragon to bring back the fugitive, dead or alive, at any cost. The Aragonese mob rose, swore that their rights should not be infringed, and rescued Perez, lodging him in their own jail of the Manifestacion.* The king was obliged to prosecute him according to Aragonese law; but, rather than divulge state secrets in open court, was

* The Manifestacion was one of the privileges the king was sworn to guard. It was in effect like the English *habeas corpus*.

obliged at last to abandon the prosecution, for the Aragonese judges would not allow the slightest latitude to the sovereign. Then he claimed the secretary as his servant, but the Aragonese tribunal refused to surrender the prisoner; and, at the instance of the king, the Inquisition took him from the Manifestacion to their own dungeons on a charge of irreligion. A great popular rising in Zaragoza (1591) was the result, and all Aragon flew to arms to defend the constitution. The palace of the Inquisition was besieged, the king's representative nearly killed, and the prisoner rescued and finally conveyed to France, whence he fled to England to plot with Philip's enemies for the rest of his life.

Then Aragon had to be taught a lesson. A Castilian army of 15,000 men occupied the capital, and other royal forces swept away the rebel populace in the rural districts which endeavoured to oppose them. The net of the Inquisition was cast widely, and all those who had offended and had not fled found themselves in the dungeons of the Holy Office. The chief justice was beheaded, several of the Aragonese nobles died of poison, and at a great *auto-de-fé* in the market place of Zaragoza 79 poor wretches were condemned to death, though, at Philip's clement request, only 6 were burned. The hand of Philip was laid heavily on Aragon, for the man who terrorized it with his troops was savage Sancho Vargas, one of the butchers of Antwerp. Philip himself appeared coldly merciful, and made no great change in the letter of the Aragonese constitution; but the citizens were cowed, for they knew their man, and Vargas and his cutthroats made it clear to them that pikes were stronger than paper charters, and that thenceforward the much-boasted liberties of Aragon must not stand in the way of King Philip's sovereign will.

One last blow to Philip came further to sadden him ere he died. The English Jesuits and the vehement monks who surrounded him had never ceased to urge upon him the duty of attacking England to restore the faith. He knew from

hard experience how impossible it was for him to cope directly with the men who had scattered his great Armada; he was almost without money, with an utterly disorganized navy, an army quite insufficient to protect his own dominions and carry on his French war, and he prudently avoided pledging himself to an impossible task. But the carefully prepared rebellion of Tyrone in Ireland seemed to offer an opportunity for cheaply injuring his enemy, and timid, insignificant support was promised by Philip to the Catholics in arms. It was exaggerated absurdly in England, and Essex and the Puritan party especially affected to believe that it was a national danger to England. So, with much hesitation and misgiving on the part of Elizabeth, a fine fleet under Essex and Howard was fitted out in England and sailed into Cadiz harbour (June, 1596), taking the city by surprise. There was no defence worth the name. The guns were obsolete and useless, the fortress walls were crumbling; poverty, neglect, and paralysis reigned everywhere; and the miserable Medina Sidonia looked on helplessly; while the city was systematically sacked, and 13 Spanish men-of-war and 40 Indiamen with 11,000,000 ducats' worth of merchandise were burned by the Spaniards to save them from capture. The fortress was razed to the ground, and the first maritime city in Spain was left a heap of ruins, a proof crying out to the whole world that the vaunted power of Spain was a baseless dream.

The miserable king was hastening to his grave when the dire news came to him, and it must have seemed as if the death knell of his country's greatness would be sounded simultaneously with his own. But he never complained. Still in an agony of devotion, clutching and gnawing a rude crucifix, he lay on his poor pallet in the vast granite monastery which he had built for his home, praying always for forgiveness and clemency, but never doubting that his cause was the right one. When at length (September, 1598) he closed his eyes for the last time on his hopeless life struggle, he left his country

submerged in indescribable poverty and misery, exhausted by three quarters of a century of ceaseless combats with the irresistible tides of enlightenment, freedom, and progress.

Philip was forced by circumstances into the leadership of a lost cause, but it was a cause in which he erred in company with his whole nation. The Spanish people and their king alike dreamed that the religious unity which was needed by Spain, and which alone could strongly bind together for the political aims of her monarchs her heterogeneous populations, was equally applicable to the domination of other countries, whose racial and political circumstances were different. They undertook the task of forcing their system upon Christendom with a fervour and conviction which gave to their country, notwithstanding their failure, an influence in the world out of all proportion to its strength. Philip was at once the apostle and the high priest of the creed which made Spain temporarily great. With his death the impetus was gone, but for a century longer, when Spain was in the sight of all men sunk to abject misery and impotence, the loudly proclaimed but unfounded tradition of her superior wealth, grandeur, and power still lingered through Europe, and the pride of the unforgotten fable softens the blows of adverse fate upon the unhappy Spain of to-day.

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### A. D. 1560 TO A. D. 1600

*Summary of progress during this period*

Spain reached her greatest height and her lowest depth as a naval power during this period. Lepanto was the apotheosis of the ancient galley as a fighting machine; the Armada marked its extinction. The large ships used by the Spaniards for their American and Indian trade and its protection needed new tactics if they were to be used for fighting. The idea of the galley was to a great extent that of a maritime steed to carry soldiers to the contest, and this tactical idea was continued by the Spaniards in their sea fights with the English on larger craft. To grapple

and close, that the soldiers might board the enemy, was the Spanish aim; to cripple the Spanish vessels at long range with artillery and prevent soldiers and small arms from being brought into action, was that of the English. The Spaniards were too exalted and impracticable to alter their notions of fighting to suit the newer build of vessels and the requirements of the times. England was blessed with a series of great seamen, who demonstrated the usefulness of the ship itself as an engine of warfare if properly built and handled, and the sceptre of the sea passed from Spain.

As will have been seen in the text, the nation had thus soon felt the dire effects of saddling upon Spain the cost of a crusade that brought her rulers into conflict with all the most vigorous elements in Europe. Poverty, misery, and desolation had swept over the whole country. While the demands of the tax collectors became ever more outrageous upon industry, the sources of productive wealth themselves were destroyed. The expulsion of the Moriscos from their homes was a blunder as great as it was a crime, but almost the whole nation applauded the act, as it did the object of the wars which were ruining it. The evil seed of fanaticism, sowed for their own ends by Fernando and Isabel and fostered by their descendants, had already borne fruit. The spiritual exaltation that had carried Spaniards irresistibly through America and half of Europe, the bigotry which had fused them into a solid instrument to be used by their kings, had led to the extinction of their liberties, had enslaved them body, soul, and mind, and rendered them at once ignorant and arrogant.

Already in one century the country had been ruined, and the lingering agony of the next century was but a long-drawn-out dissolution. Spain had been driven to stake everything upon the establishment of religious unity throughout Christendom, and had failed. The false step of Fernando the Catholic in adopting bigotry as the national bond of union to serve Aragonese objects had made the existence of the nation depend upon the crushing of Protestantism. Philip II died after a lifetime of struggle, leaving Protestantism enthroned in England, Scotland, Holland, north Germany, and Scandinavia, and dictating fair terms even in Catholic France. Spain had therefore been beaten. Not only was the idea she had fought for proved to be impossible, but the basis of the nation itself was unstable, and the people had surrendered in the struggle their own civil, religious, and intellectual freedom.

Spain had in the period now under review added Portugal and her immense colonies to the possessions of Castile, the greater

part of Italy was under her dominion, and the richest part of Flanders was still hers. In appearance she was richer and more powerful than ever before. But her boasted greatness was already a hollow sham. The belief in a divine inspiration which had made her temporarily great was waning before the blows of Fate; there was no other national ideal to take its place, and Spain at the opening of the seventeenth century was bleeding to death.

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*Summary of what Spain did for the world in this period*

Spanish gold from America still flowed plentifully from Seville into every country in Europe but Spain itself. The spices, drugs, and gums of the East now came to Europe more cheaply and plentifully in the Spanish-Portuguese galleons to Lisbon than previously by the Levant and Venice. Gloves, fine leather, silks, and church vestments were still exported to most countries from Spain, though industry was heavily handicapped. The export trade in wine, oil, and other natural products was very considerable, though for a time prohibited with England, and grew larger when, somewhat later, complete safety of navigation was secured for the first time in fifty years. Of the partial revival in this respect the next summary will treat.

It will have been noted in the text that the beginning of each period of intellectual and literary activity in Spain coincided in point of time with a decadence of national character and institutions. This was the case with the present period. Spain had entered at the same time into the cycle of her own eclipse as a nation, and into that when she was to make her greatest contribution to the intellectual wealth of the world. During the latter half of the sixteenth century Spanish books of all sorts had been published plentifully in England and France, both in the original and in translations. Spanish books on politics, theology, voyages, history, didactics, books of chivalry, and the picaresque novels* became the fashion, and the study of the Spanish language was a polite accomplishment. But above all, Cervantes had written Don Quixote—although it was not yet printed—Lope de Vega was in his prime, and Mateo Aleman had just published Guzman de Alfarache, before the first year of the seventeenth century.

* A list of all such books published and studied in England at the time will be found in Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors. Underhill (Macmillan, New York, 1899).

# CHAPTER XI

## CONSUMMATION OF THE DECAY

Literary movement in the sixteenth century—The rise of the Spanish drama—Lope de Vega—Spanish prose—Don Quixote—The picaresque novels—Material and moral decline of the people—Philip III and Lerma—Expulsion of the Moriscos—The Thirty Years' War—Death of Philip III—Condition of the people on the accession of Philip IV—Olivares and Richelieu—The rebellion of Catalonia—Loss of Portugal—Fall of Olivares—Disillusionment and death of Philip IV—Exhaustion of the country—Habits of the people—The golden age of Spanish literature and art—Velasquez, Murillo, etc.—Spanish sculpture—Reign of Charles II—His death—A disputed succession.

THE sixteenth century had been a period of awakening for the whole of Europe. Everywhere the dry bones of the ancient learning arose reclothed with the fair flesh of the Renaissance. The printing press carried the solace of letters to the many, while the popularization of the profane acted drama brought the fruit of wit and imagination to the crowds who could not read. Most of the impetus in art and literature had come from Italy, which country was closely connected with Spain by common allegiance and constant intercommunication in war and peace. Spanish soldiers, traders, officials, and adventurers were almost as familiar with Italian as with their own tongue; and, on the other hand, Spanish was the fashionable language in most of the Italian cities. Spain therefore was one of the first countries to receive the new civilizing influence. Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio at first reached the Spanish people in translations, but

by the middle of the sixteenth century the form, at least, of Spanish poetry was changing in obedience to their impulse, from the primitive eight-syllable line to the flexible and elegant Italian hendecasyllabic metre, thereafter to be the favourite vehicle for Spanish poetic expression, which in that form was to arouse so much admiration in the rest of Europe. Boscan, Garcilaso, and Mendoza, the first Italianates, had to struggle against much opposition on the part of old-fashioned Spaniards, who thought that the stiff forms that had satisfied their forefathers since the time of Juan de Mena were good enough for them. But the influence of the revived and polished classicism from Italy overbore resistance, and by the end of the century, and for the next sixty years afterward, a flood of facile, glib, brilliant verse, odes, epics, lyrics, sonnets, narratives, and, above all, dramas, poured forth in irresistible streams to the delight of Spain and of Europe.

A rage of letters again seized upon the Spanish people, and again, as in the time of the Roman decadence, the literary production at once assumed an Iberian character, which stamped it as distinct from its models; * for Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Calderon, and Tirso de Molina (Gabriel de Tellez) were instinct with Spanish genius, and could not fail to stamp it on their works.

In earlier pages we traced the evolution of the Spanish drama from the recitations of the jongleurs and the sacred *autos* to the pastoral dialogues of Juan de Encina. The first manifestation of the new Italian influence upon the Spanish

* Lope de Vega, who is said to have written 1,500 or 1,800 plays in verse and 400 sacred *autos*, of which about 400 plays and 40 *autos* still survive, wrote, in his New Art of Making Comedies:

> "Who writes by rule must please himself alone:
> Be damned without remorse, and die unknown,"

and confessed that he "locked up every rule before he wrote," and drove Plautus and Terence out of sight, in order to leave his own inspiration to dictate to him what would please his patrons. (See Lord Holland's translation of El Arte nuevo de hacer Comedias.)

stage was seen in the comedies of Bartolomé Torres Naharro, represented at Naples in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. These were no longer dramatized pastoral incidents, like the eclogues of Encina, nor stories in dramatic dialogue form, like the famous Celestina, but regular simple five-act plays. Castillejo, the sturdy opponent of Italian influence, soon after set all Madrid laughing at the wit, while it blushed at the immodesty, of his popular farces. But the rigid court of the emperor and his son did not encourage such diversions in high society, and the standard of excellence (and of decency) was necessarily a low one in plays written for the crowd, and represented before a blanket in a courtyard.

Lope de Rueda, in the middle of the sixteenth century, appealed to a wider audience. His plays, short, simple, and witty, caught the public taste, and then the flood gates opened. Juan Malara and Juan de la Cueva wrote plays by the hundred, and movable scenery and appropriate dresses were introduced by another Naharro in 1570. Every village in Spain was constantly visited by wandering actors, and by 1582 two permanent companies were established in Madrid (in the Corrales of the Principe and the Cruz), and after the death of Philip II another courtyard adjoining the site of the present Teatro Real, near the palace, was devoted to representations for the amusement of the king and court. It was at the moment when all Spain, with the dramatic instinct of the race, was flocking to see plays, and found few good ones, that the great Lope, with his wit, his facility, and his ingenuity, appeared and transformed the Spanish stage, as his contemporary Shakespeare did for that of England.

Enormous as was the service of Lope de Vega and his followers to the modern stage, it hardly surpassed that rendered to literature by the great masters of Spanish prose at a similar period. By the time of which we are writing (early in the seventeenth century) a great change had come over public taste in Spain in this respect. The didactic philosophy

—tiresome as it seems to us now—of Antonio de Guevara and his school, the tedious "chronicles," often degenerating into vainglorious records of personal adventure, and the flatulent imitations of Amadis, had given place to works of a higher order, written in a prose style of a vigour and freshness unsurpassed before or since. Brilliant imagination and the bitter-sweet Iberian humour were couched in language as chaste and noble as that employed by writers of the same race in the palmiest days of Roman letters before the curse of floridness fell. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza had been one of the first and brightest examples of the new style in his Lazarillo de Tormes, and later in his Historia de la Guerra de Granada. Antonio Perez, writing his venomous gibes at Philip II from the safe refuge of London or Paris, played with the fine Castilian tongue as a deft swordsman wields his rapier. Cervantes, in Quixote and the Novelas Ejemplares, bettered all his predecessors, and the historian Mariana and a host of smaller men carried the same brilliant style into history and polemics.

The world, indeed, was waiting for something better than the far-fetched tales of impossible chivalry when Spaniards gave to it the ancestor of the modern novel. Boccaccio, Bonaventure de Perriers, and others had long ago shown that everyday episodes in the lives of little people might be made interesting; but Lazarillo de Tormes, Guzman de Alfarache, and their many followers, and, greatest of all, Don Quixote, proved that in the hands of Spanish writers, using the clear, nervous Castilian then in vogue, the peripatetic adventures of an imaginary person might be made a vehicle for conveying satire, flagellation, or praise upon persons or society at large, represented by types. Wit and malice had free play here in spite of the Inquisition, and the whole world laughed at and welcomed this true outcome of the Iberian spirit. The descent from Lazarillo de Tormes, Guzman de Alfarache, Don Quixote, El Diablo Cojuelo, El Gran Tacaño, and Gil

Blas is as direct to Robinson Crusoe, Tom Jones, Joseph Andrews, and Pickwick as is the descent from the comedies of Lope de Vega and Calderon to those of Molière, Corneille, and the English dramatists of the Restoration.

The later years of the sixteenth and the early years of the seventeenth centuries saw a marked and lamentable deterioration in the character of the Spanish people. Their exalted consciousness of a sacred mission to destroy heresy could hardly survive their repeated defeats at the hands of heretics, and the long seclusion of the old king and the rigid asceticism that surrounded the court had left all grades of society free to indulge in every degree of licentiousness, so long as abject lip service was rendered to the ceremonies of the Church and to the priests and friars who flocked everywhere.* The reaction against the fervent belief which had animated them for a hundred years made the Spanish people—men and women alike—in the seventeenth century scornfully sceptical while conforming devoutly to the forms prescribed to them. Asceticism was succeeded by an immodesty of demeanour, especially among women, which shocked and surprised foreigners. The improvidence, lavishness, and self-indulgence of high and low, the vainglory and pretentiousness, the corruption and idleness, which now and for the next hundred years characterized the Spanish people, were the natural results of the downfall of a high ideal for which they had sacrificed material prosperity, civil liberty, and religious and intellectual independence. All that was left of the splendid dream now was ignorance, bigotry, and arrogant presumption.

The country itself was utterly ruined. Great tracts of land were left desert for want of cultivators; most of the land was tied up in perpetual entail by the Church and the nobles, the

* Contarini, the Venetian ambassador in Madrid at the time, reported to his Government that Spaniards, "*though they were immoral, were good Christians*"!

looms and factories were idle, and the emigration to America continued unabated. The last Cortes of Philip II officially told the king that "no one has either money or credit, and the country is completely desolated. Any money that is made is hidden away, and the owner lives poorly upon it until it is gone. Commerce is killed by alcabalas. Where 30,000 arrobas of wool were manufactured there are not now 6,000, and in the principal cities most of the houses are closed and deserted."

This was the country to whose crowns young Philip III succeeded in 1598. The whole system of his father and grandfather had been to make the monarch everything and the rest of mankind merely puppets in his hands; but even before his death the old king saw where the system would break down, and deplored that Heaven had denied him a son as laborious and self-sacrificing as himself. The first act of young Philip's reign was to hand the management of affairs to his favourite, the Duke of Lerma, and thenceforward the king divided his time between extravagant diversions and equally extravagant devotion. At a time when, as we have seen, the one thing needed was firm, wise, and just government and rigid economy, demands were made upon the country such as had never been heard of before,* and a perfect frenzy of extravagance set in under the rule of Lerma, who himself squandered vast sums of money on the king's marriage feast, much of which went abroad.† Knighthoods, grandeeships, and offices were sold wholesale to provide for this expenditure, and thus the treasury was still further depleted. The prices of commodities continued to rise, and although large amounts in gold still came every year from America to Seville, such of it as remained in Spain was

* Eighteen million ducats (£2,200,000) in six years.

† Cabrera de Cordova says that the public expenditure on these festivities was 1,000,000 ducats, and that the nobles spent 3,000,000, Lerma alone contributing 300,000.

mostly hoarded or buried to preserve it from the demands of the tax farmers and collectors, and currency was exceedingly scarce. This was ignorantly attributed to the extravagant use of silver for Church and household use and ornament, and in 1601 Lerma made an unsuccessful attempt to lay hands upon this source of wealth. When the bishops and clergy frightened him out of this he appealed *ad misericordiam* to all classes of the king's subjects, and officers went from door to door begging for money for the sovereign and government which still claimed pre-eminence over all others, and boasted that they were the richest in the world, as they were certainly the most lavish.

The lesson of humility was a hard one to learn, both by sovereign and people. The sovereignty of Flanders had passed on the death of Philip II to his favourite elder daughter, Clara Isabel Eugenia, whom her father had endeavoured unsuccessfully to make Queen of England and of France, but Spain still considered it incumbent upon her to pour out blood and treasure to aid the new sovereign of Flanders to fight the Dutch.* An attempt was made by the Archduke Albert, the husband and joint sovereign of Isabel, to patch up a peace with England and Holland, but the inflated claims made by Spain were ridiculous now, and the negotiations came to nothing. The old tradition of dominating England was still kept up, and the overburdened Spanish people were saddled with a huge increase of the excise on food to pay for a great expedition to aid the rebellion of Tyrone in Ireland. Mismanagement, corruption, and disaster dogged the expedition from the first; Tyrone was beaten, and another blow was struck at the illusions of Spain.

Before Elizabeth died one Spanish councillor, bolder than the rest, frankly told the king and his colleagues that it was

* Unfortunately for Spain, the dominion of Flanders, etc., subsequently reverted to the king (Philip IV) on the death, without issue, of the infanta and her husband, the Archduke Albert.

a hollow mockery for them any longer to pretend that they could force a sovereign or a faith upon England; and when James I came to the throne the long feud came to an end, and Spain signed a peace with a Protestant country.* But even so, it was on terms that Elizabeth would never have accepted; and Spain, notwithstanding her obvious impotence, forced the craven Stuart by sheer arrogance to promise not to help the Hollanders or allow English ships to trade in the Indies! For four years longer—to 1607—the war with the stubborn Dutchmen continued, for Spain would only treat with them as rebels. But at length (1609) a twelve years' truce was signed with Protestant Holland, and the cause for which Spain had sacrificed everything was finally defeated. Come what might in Europe, she would never be allowed to dictate to other nations the religion they should follow.

For the first time for half a century Spain was at peace. Her commerce was free from the depredations of privateers, and the condition of the people unquestionably improved somewhat with regard to the resources of the private citizen. But corruption had eaten so deeply into the national life that the funds at the disposal of the Government for useful purposes were as restricted as ever.† No public works or reproductive expenditure were undertaken, but from Lerma down-

* A most interesting account of the visit of Lord Howard to Spain for the ratification of this peace is given in Cabrera de Cordoba's Relaciones (Documentos Ineditos), and a striking picture is given of the lavish magnificence of the Spanish court under Lerma.

† The nominal revenue of the King of Spain at this time is given by the Venetian ambassador as 23,859,787 ducats (of *2s.* 5½*d.* each); but each item is exaggerated, and almost certainly the amount entering into the treasury did not reach a half of that sum. At this period the household expenses of the king (which in the previous reign had amounted to 400,000 ducats annually) had now reached 1,300,000 ducats. When public animadversion frightened Lerma a few years afterward, and he threw to the lions some of his subordinate ministers, one of the latter (Franquesa) was made to disgorge bribes and plunder to the extent of 1,400,000 ducats, and another (Ramirez del Prado) a similar sum.

ward every officer robbed the nation to the extent of his power. Pensions, grants, monopolies, offices, and titles were sold to the highest bidders. There were 20 viceroyalties, 46 captain generalships, all splendidly endowed, 500 pensioned commanderies, and places lavishly paid in enormous numbers at home and abroad. The foreign and colonial possessions in these circumstances contributed little or nothing to the national exchequer, but the Spanish satraps and their underlings, who pretended to rule them, grew rich beyond the dreams of avarice. The forces, both of army and navy, had dwindled to almost nothing, though the pay sheets for nonexistent ships and regiments were regularly presented, and only with difficulty could the few Spanish galleys in the Mediterranean even partially protect the coasts of the Peninsula itself from the constant raids of the Turkish and Moorish pirates.

These raids were mostly made upon the Valencian coasts, where a large number of people of Moorish blood resided—honest, thrifty, industrious citizens, for the most part engaged in silk weaving and agriculture, who by their skill and patience had made the Vega of Valencia from end to end into a garden. These Moriscos were accused of aiding the predatory Moors, and even of corresponding with the Protestants in England, to the detriment of Spain; * and their Christian neighbours, and particularly the bigoted priests, led by the Archbishop Ribera, persecuted them cruelly. They were in prosperous comfort when their lazy compatriots were starving and in rags; they bore uncomplainingly a great additional burden of taxation, and yet they had money when others had none. They were "a sponge sucking up all Spanish wealth," said the old Christians. They were "children of the devil, who grew rich by witchcraft," cried the

* On his accession, James I had sent to Spain some incriminatory letters from them, which he had found in England, written in the previous reign.

priests. Hatred was stirred up against them, and harsh measures were demanded for testing the sincerity of their Christianity. They resented this, and communications passed between them and the Moriscos in other parts of Spain. Lerma grew alarmed, for the persecuted people were very numerous, and were increasing rapidly; and in September, 1609, the terrible edict went forth that every man, woman, and child of Moorish descent in the kingdom of Valencia was to be shipped to Barbary within three days, with the exception of six of the "oldest and most Christian" men in each district, who, by a refinement of cruelty, were ordered to remain and teach the old Christians their methods of cultivation.

With every circumstance of inhumanity thousands of these poor people, whose great crime was their thrift, were driven on shipboard, to be sent from the land in which their ancestors had lived for many centuries. Maltreated, plundered, and in many cases murdered, on the way to the ports, such of them as survived were sent away starving and penniless, and by March, 1610, the kingdom of Valencia was declared to be free from the taint of Moslem blood. During the six months over 150,000 of the best citizens of Spain had been robbed of everything and hounded out of the land of their birth—men in many cases wealthy and respected, and often as purely Spanish as the very priests who denounced them. But bigotry and greed hungered for further victims, and during the year 1610 similar expulsions were effected of Moriscos from Castile, La Mancha, Estremadura, Aragon, Andalusia, Murcia, and Catalonia. The Moriscos in the north could hardly be distinguished from the old Christians, so intimately had the blood mixed; but white faces or brown, rich or poor, all those of known Moorish descent in that fell year were cleared from Spanish soil.

It is computed that not less than 500,000 souls were thus expelled, carrying in their hearts to their new African homes

the hate of Christian Spaniards that survives in their kin to this day. The besotted churchmen and their ignorant flocks throughout the country rejoiced at this purging of the land from those whose forefathers had ruled it in splendour and prosperity; but the few more thoughtful of Spaniards even then wept over the loss of the best element of the Spanish industrial population. From that year the country has never fully recovered the blow it then received. The fastuous magnificence of Lerma is forgotten; the saintliness of Ribera is lost in his cruelty; the diversions and devotions of the king are only recollected to be derided; but monarch, archbishop, and minister live thenceforward in the memory of men only as the perpetrators of one of the greatest crimes against humanity and against their country ever recorded in the history of government.

It needed no wizard now to tell that Spain was decadent and her claims of superiority unfounded. Those who had felt her heavy hand in the past were impatient, and ready to humble her. Savoy and the Italian states, Switzerland and the Protestant party in England, were ready to make common cause with Henry IV of France, and strike a blow to reduce the Spanish house of Austria to the position in Europe commensurate with its real power, and restore to France the predominance of which the temporary potency of Spain had deprived her. But the great Béarnais was struck down (May, 1610) by the dagger of Ravaillac and the whole prospect was changed. His widow, the Regent Marie de Medici, with her papal leanings and traditional reverence for the great Catholic power, at once reversed the policy of her ex-Huguenot husband and bowed again before the paralyzed god of Spanish Catholic supremacy. The young King of France was married to the Spanish Infanta Ana, and the eldest son of Philip III was wedded to a French princess (1612); a treaty which was to make Spain and France forever one great Catholic confederacy was signed with extrava-

gant jubilation and magnificence;* and James I of England, anxious not to be isolated, grovelled servilely before Gondomar and his master to gain the friendship of a nation that all the Protestant world could see was bankrupt in resources, in character, and in strength. Only the Duke of Savoy raised head against his former patrons, and for two years a war raged in north Italy between him and the almost independent Spanish viceroys without decisive result on either side (1617). A war between these satraps (Toledo and Osuna) and the republic of Venice followed, but by this time affairs had reached a crisis in Spain itself which peremptorily demanded that at any cost war should cease in Italy.

It has been shown in previous chapters that the whole of Spain's misfortunes had arisen in consequence of the imperial connection having entailed upon her a task beyond her strength and resources. She had at last freed herself from direct interest both in Germany and Flanders. Her claim to dictate the religion of Christendom had broken down hopelessly, and, as we have seen, the management of even her own affairs was more than she could successfully perform. But her people, and even her inept governors, inflated by the new French adhesion and the English king's subserviency, still dreamed that the old ambitions might after all be realized. The Thirty Years' War had commenced in Germany, and, at the prayer of his kinsman the emperor, Philip, beggar as he was, again consented to drag his country into a war in which he had nothing to gain but sentiment; and fresh burdens were piled upon Spain, to send a vast army, under Spinola, to invade the Palatinate, and fight for the supremacy of Catholicism in central Europe. The battle of Prague (1620) decided the struggle so far as concerned the "King of Bohemia," James Stuart's son-in-law, and English policy toward Spain

* Lerma alone is said to have spent 400,000 ducats on his voyage to the frontier for the interchange of brides and the signing of the treaty. (Davila.)

for many years afterward was guided by the desire of the Stuarts to cajole Spain into restoring to the unfortunate Palatine at least his ancestral dominions. Spanish pride was thus flattered, but nationally she gained nothing, and the suffering people grew ever more abject and hopeless at the increasing misery and corruption that reigned supreme over all. The splendid Rodrigo Calderon, Lerma's henchman, fell before a palace intrigue and was divested of his rank and ill-gotten wealth. Lerma himself sought comparative safety in hasty retirement into a cardinalate from a conspiracy led by his son Uceda.* One set of plunderers succeeded another, and the circle of corruption grew ever wider from its centre in the royal palace, but the condition of the country itself grew worse and worse. The decline in agriculture and the luxury of the predatory upper classes crowded the population into the towns in the hope of picking up some of the crumbs that fell from the tables of the only class that was rich. Idling, and the eternal spinning and reciting of verses which was often an excuse for it, were the resources of those who endeavoured to prey upon the plunderers; and the capitals were crowded with sham gentlemen, roguish lackeys, hired bravoes, lazy friars, and satirists in search of patrons. The total population of the country was now about 9,000,000, and in the twenty years of Philip's reign the agriculturists of one province alone—that of Salamanca—had fallen from 8,343 workers, with 11,745 yokes of oxen, to considerably less than half that number both of men and beasts. On the other hand, there were no less than 32,000 monks of the orders of Saint Dominic and Saint Francis alone in Spain. Every Cortes that met prayed for redress. The realm, they said, was being rapidly turned into a desert, and again and again they besought the king to moderate his own expenditure and to cease the lavish granting of pensions and offices, to force the nobles to live on their estates, and to send the crowds of idle

* A vivid picture of this period is given in Gil Blas.

office-seekers that followed them to do useful work upon the land. They were bold enough indeed on one occasion to beg that agricultural produce should be relieved from some of the burdens that prevented its circulation, and that a limitation should be placed upon the number of the priests, friars, and nuns who lived in unproductive idleness.

Little notice, however, was taken of the Cortes now. Philip, his favourites, and his favourites' favourites *ad infinitum* went on their old way, living in a fool's paradise of waste and splendour, alternating with fits of ecstatic devotion, until at length the end of all things came for the king, and in remorse for his wasted life, and, like his father before him, in dire dread for the future of his heir, Philip III breathed his last (March 31, 1621).* In any other country, or with any other people but Spaniards, the desolation and misery suffered by the majority of his subjects would have made the king at least unpopular. But this was not the case with him. The hollow idea that he was the richest potentate in Christendom was still cherished as an article of faith by most Spaniards, and the lavish splendour that surrounded him flattered the pride of the lowliest of his starving subjects. The old sacerdotal traditions of the sovereignty of Castile still lingered through the ages; and that the king could do no wrong in his ineffable greatness was an axiom to which Spaniards tenaciously clung, because in the same measure that their king was more exalted than other kings, so were they themselves more exalted than other subjects.

* A most minute and interesting account of events in the court during the reign of Philip III will also be found in the contemporary history written by a disappointed courtier called Novoa (though it is usually attributed to another, named Vivanco), who had aided Olivares in his earlier intrigues against Uceda and the Sandovals, and had not been rewarded as he expected. The combined splendour and squalor of the time, the despair and confusion engendered by the widespread misery and affected literary craze that had seized upon all ranks of Spaniards, are vividly set forth in Novoa's artless revelations. (Documentos ineditos LX and LXI.)

The trade of favouritism was too profitable not to excite keen competition. Uceda had displaced his father, Lerma, but a stronger than either had been watching and plotting for long to oust the whole brood of Sandoval, and himself to rule Spain under the new king. Gaspar de Guzman, Count de Olivares, proud, masterful, and able, had already captured the confidence of the lad of sixteen, whom he had thus early launched upon the sea of pleasure that was in the end to ingulf him, and no sooner had the body of Philip III been consigned to the jasper mausoleum that he had built for his race in the heart of his father's granite palace than a clean sweep was made of Uceda and his friends. Olivares spared neither high nor low. Uceda died in prison; the head of Calderon fell at last; the great Viceroy of Naples and Sicily, the Duke of Osuna, was plunged into a dungeon, from which he was never to emerge; and when all was clear, Olivares, now a duke and a grandee, tried his hand at government on his own account under the ægis of the lank, pallid, yellow-haired youth, with the great underhung jaw and leaden eyes that gaze out for evermore from the deathless canvas of Velasquez.

If Spain was to be made to smile again, the task of the new minister was indeed a herculean one. The abuses which had grown up in the last five-and-twenty years were crying aloud for redress. The great demand of enlightened men was that the incidence of the taxation should be altered, the excise (the millions) and the alcabalas lightened, and the people thus be brought back to the soil which out of necessity they had abandoned. "Let the quotas be fixed fairly for each district, and let the town councils raise the money by a uniform tax!" cried one set of reformers. "Send the nobles and prelates back to their estates!" urged another. "Reduce the expenditure of the court and the example of idle extravagance!" prayed one and all. All sources of revenue were pledged and farmed, and the collection in most places was

oppressive in the extreme. The smallest mistake or attempt at evasion led to a lawsuit, in which the taxpayer was bound to be ruined in any case, and it sufficed for such a suit to be commenced for the defendant to abandon everything and wander off into vagrancy. There was a perfect host of monopolies—playing cards, pepper, quicksilver, salt, etc.—and each separate monopoly had its own courts, judges, and officers, so that the tax farmers were practically judges in their own cases, and had everything their own way. Olivares did his best to make some improvement, and the king was full of sympathy for the suffering of his people. But they were both limited by ignorance and evil traditions, and merely touched the fringe of the subject. The suicidal system of taxing the sources of production remained unaltered. The corruption of officers to some extent was reformed, a more modest style of dressing and living was enjoined for all classes, the multiplication of useless servants was suppressed, and the universal craze for parading up and down the streets in coaches for most of the day was sternly forbidden.

But these were only symptoms of the disease that afflicted the people; they were not the disease itself, which was much more deeply seated. The real evil was that the fatal policy of their rulers had made Spaniards ignorant, bigoted, and opinionated; had caused them to look upon labour as a disgrace, while upon labour was cast the whole of the national burden. The high spirit of sacrifice had gone; there was no longer a sense of a sacred mission for the nation. Those who ruffled and played lived upon, while they scorned, those who laboured, and it was natural that each citizen should strive to join the band of honoured idlers rather than that of despised workers.*

* The evidence of contemporaries as to the sloth that had overtaken the whole nation at this period would be incredible if it were not abundantly proved by the known results. A French traveller (Voiture) who was in Spain in 1621 writes thus: "If it rains, those who carry bread from the villages to Madrid will not bring it, though

In these circumstances the first national need was not so much to curtail expenditure and reduce luxury as to foment production. The latter Olivares did not attempt, the former he abandoned in despair after a half-hearted trial. Once (1623) the Cortes of Castile—consisting now only of the representatives of 18 town councils—plucked up spirit to tell Olivares, though without effect, that they dared not vote the huge additional sum of 70,000,000 ducats to free the royal patrimony from debt, and, in any case, that their constituents could not pay it. But money must be had somehow, for Spain was at war again with the Dutchmen, now that the unpopular twelve years' truce was ended, and the emperor was forever demanding fresh aid from Philip to fight his Protestant-German subjects. So once more the old evil system of finance was resorted to;* loans were raised at usuri-

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they know they could sell it for a better price. When wheat is dear in Andalusia and plentiful in Castile, they will not take the trouble to send it where it is wanted, but wait until it comes to them from France or elsewhere. . . . If Spaniards are poor, it is because they are careless and lazy." Another (Campanella) at the same period wrote: "The Spaniard is a sluggard, not only in agriculture, but in all kinds of handicraft. That is the reason why Spain lacks manufactures, and that all the wool, silk, and other produce raised is sent abroad, and all the raw material not exported is manufactured not by Spaniards, but by Italians; while the cultivation of their fields and vineyards they leave to the French." Madame D'Aulnoy, somewhat later, says: "They will rather bear hunger and hardship of any sort than work. Pride and sloth prevent them from tilling the land, which consequently remains uncultivated unless some more industrious foreigners undertake the task, carrying home his earnings while the wretched Spanish peasant thrums an old guitar or pores over a silly romance." A Spaniard (Fray de la Mata) in 1655 complained in his writings that the country was overrun by 120,000 foreigners, who carried away wages annually to the value of 1,000,000 gold ducats. Such testimony could be multiplied to any extent; even the writings of Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and Gongora teem with references to the idle, brawling, and swaggering spirit among Spaniards of the time.

* The great panacea for the poverty of the country proposed by Cortes at the time was the further restriction in the export of coin or the precious metals.

ous interest, revenues were pledged for years ahead, coin was debased, offices, titles, and crown seigniories were sold wholesale, as before, exempting the purchasers from taxation, while the mass of the people still starved and idled in rags if they could not strut in satin. The adhesion of the French Queen-Regent Marie de Medici had saved Spain from attack for a time, but with the rise of Richelieu, more patriotic and ambitious for France than the queen mother, the danger grew. James I of England was still beguiled by negotiations for marrying the Prince of Wales to the sister of Philip IV. On the part of Spain it was only one more attempt to dictate the state religion to England in order to dispose of her political strength; and when Charles I in his foolish clandestine voyage to Spain understood this, too late to save his country's dignity or his own, the hollow negotiation came to an end.* England rallied to the French alliance, and Charles married Henrietta Maria.

Then, indeed, was Spain, though she understood it not, at the mercy of her rivals, and Richelieu made the most of his opportunity. There was no need for him to seek it, for, notwithstanding the exhaustion of the country and his fail-

* Notwithstanding the miserable condition of the country at the time, the visit of the Prince of Wales and Buckingham to Madrid was seized upon by Olivares to make a display of magnificence unheard of even there. "Pragmatics" enjoining economy in dress and living were thrown to the winds; the jewels, etc., given as presents to Charles and his suite were of enormously greater value than those that they had brought. The whole visit, indeed, seems to have been a perfect nightmare of waste. Gongora, in a poem written at the time (in Pellicer's preface to Don Quixote), says that the King of Spain spent 1,000,000 gold ducats in the entertainment; and in a contemporary manuscript account in my possession, written by an officer of the court (Soto of Aguilar), the list of presents and entertainments given would seem to warrant Gongora's statement. For further particulars than can here be given of Charles's visit to Madrid, see also Cespedes's contemporary Historia de Felipe IV, Clarendon's History, Dr. S. R. Gardiner's Prince Charles and the Spanish Match, Howell's Letters, Mrs. Townsend's Endymion Porter, and Lord Bristol's Defence (Camden Miscellany, vol. vi).

ure to bind England, the haughty and overbearing Olivares, with the approval of most of his countrymen, was bent upon a policy of aggression, which once more brought Spain into inimical contact with some of the most vigorous forces in Europe. Spinola's success in overrunning the Palatinate for the emperor had again aroused Spanish dreams of domination, which had seemed to have been buried in the grave of Philip II, and a vigorous campaign was commenced for the subjugation of Holland. Spinola failed to subdue Bergen (1624), and then went against the famous fortress of Breda, which was garrisoned by a force of 7,000 Dutch, English, and French troops under Justin of Nassau. Spinola had nearly four times as many men, mostly Spaniards and Italians, with whom to undertake the siege and prevent Maurice of Nassau and his army of 18,000 men from relieving the town. Maurice fought heroically and failed, but the town held out month after month throughout the winter against the grim persistence of Spinola and his overwhelming forces. The defence of the town is famous in history, and its final surrender (1625) on honourable terms, when all hope was gone, is immortalized in one of Velasquez's most famous pictures. This victory, the continued aid given by Spain to the emperor, and, above all, the unconcealed ambition of Olivares with regard to the Italian states not already under Spanish rule at last aroused France to action.

The Spaniards had continued to occupy the Valtellina in despite of treaties, and Richelieu, in conjunction with Savoy and Venice, had invaded the territory (1624), though he had avoided for a time an open declaration of war. But when, by holding out to Charles I of England the old bait of the restoration of the Palatine, he attracted England to the alliance with France, he threw off the mask, and the long struggle between France and the house of Austria recommenced, in which England, as usual, was the cat's-paw of her ally. Once more the Spaniards, at the thought of renewed glory,

brought out long-hidden hoards; churchmen and nobles, even ladies, contributed their plate and jewels to pay men at arms. The Pope was on the side of Spain, and was liberal of ecclesiastical blessings. The Italian states responded to the call in the face of a French invasion of Italy, and Richelieu's position did not for a time allow him to go too far in opposition to the united Catholic party in France and abroad, and a peace was patched up between France and Spain (1526), leaving matters much as they had been previously In Germany and Flanders, thanks to the genius of Tilly and Spinola, affairs had gone favourably for the Spaniards; the Dutch fleet was destroyed off Gibraltar by Don Fadrique de Toledo, who subsequently partially cleared the Mediterranean of the Moorish pirates who infested it. The Dutchmen, too, who had captured some of the Spanish settlements in South America and the West Indies were expelled therefrom. All this aroused the old Spanish arrogance and pride. Philip IV was the greatest king ever known—Philip the Great, the Planet King, he was called—and Olivares the Heaven-sent minister, who was at length to realise the greatness of which the second Philip had only dreamed.

The main portion of the expense of this forward policy had to be met somehow by ruined Castile, and when it had been bled to the last obtainable ducat Philip was carried to Aragon, to cajole, if possible, the stiff-necked parliaments to give something more than the grudging dole they annually provided. He found the three parliaments of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia in no very flexible mood. Each one of them stood upon the letter of its ancient charters and resisted pressure of the sort that had reduced the Cortes of Castile to impotence. Olivares, bitterly resentful of any institution that dared to stand in the way of his will, was haughty and peremptory, and began by inducing the king, on a show of opposition from the Cortes of Valencia, to abolish by a

stroke of the pen its power to refuse the supply demanded. The Cortes of Catalonia were more stubborn and refused the great and unconstitutional demands made upon them. Their refusal, indeed, was so emphatic that Olivares in real or pretended alarm for the safety of the king precipitately withdrew him from Barcelona, leaving behind him the seed of trouble which was in due time to bring forth a plentiful crop.

In the meanwhile Richelieu was industriously preparing. He had been at war with his erstwhile ally England, who was aiding the Huguenots, and he had beaten the Duke of Buckingham before Rochelle. He was now ready to try conclusions with Olivares. The excuse for war was the rival claims of the Duke de Nevers and the Duke de Guastalla to the succession of the duchy of Mantua. The Duke of Savoy this time was on the side of Spain, and occupied the disputed territory. The fall of Rochelle (October, 1628) and the submission of the Huguenots left Richelieu free to carry the war with French forces into Italy. Olivares made peace with England, and gradually the powers on both sides were ranged —the emperor, Spain, and Savoy being now united against France, the Pope, Venice, Mantua, and the Dutch. Richelieu was victorious nearly everywhere; Carlo Emmanuele of Savoy died broken-hearted in July, 1630, and the great Spinola shortly afterward. Spain, utterly exhausted now, threw up the struggle, and Richelieu obtained all he had asked for in Italy by the treaty of Casale (October, 1630). Still more disastrous for the Spaniards was their campaign in Holland, where they had not only been ignominiously expelled from the United Provinces, but had lost possession of Gueldres to the Prince of Orange, and in Germany the Protestants with the great Gustavus Adolphus were carrying all before them. Through the bitter northern winter of 1632 the Spaniards in the imperial armies died in multitudes. Tilly, the emperor's best general, was killed, and Wallenstein, his successor,

was murdered (1634); all looked hopeless for the cause of the house of Austria, when the Infante Fernando, the King of Spain's young brother, on his way with an army of 18,000 men to his new government of Flanders,* came opportunely to the aid of the imperialists at Nordlingen, and in one of the bloodiest battles of the Thirty Years' War inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Protestants, who lost 12,000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners (1635). The valour and dash of the Spanish infantry on this occasion were worthy of the best traditions of the race, and attracted the admiration even of their enemies. There was, in fact, at the time a strong but temporary revival of the crusading idea, to which their former impetus was due. They were again a Catholic host, fighting heretics; for the territorial issues at stake they cared nothing. Whether this or that potentate ruled at Mantua, at Cleves, at Saluzzo, can not have interested them; but to stand in the ranks of the Lord's army and wrestle with His enemies again flattered their personal self-esteem and aroused their fanatic ardour.

The victory of Nordlingen once more brought Richelieu and the French into the field against Olivares and the Spaniards, for the personal rivalry between the two ministers was as great as the national enmity, and the war recommenced with vigour. The Spaniards fought well, and throughout 1635 and 1636 the struggle went on in Germany, Savoy, and Flanders with varying fortunes, but always to the further exhaustion of miserable depopulated Spain. Early in 1637 an attempt was made by the Pope to bring about a general peace, but again Spanish pride stood in the way by refusing to admit to conference the Dutch or the German Protestants. At one time during the year it looked as if all Flanders, Luxemburg, and the Franche-Comté would be lost to Spain,

* The old Infanta Isabel, who had succeeded to the sovereignty on the death of her father, Philip II, had died childless (1633), and the dominion had reverted to Spain.

while a Spanish army that had invaded France was annihilated. At length, in 1638, it seemed to Richelieu that the time had come for finally humbling his rival, and the French crossed the frontier, capturing Irun, and laying siege to the fortress of Fuenterrabia. But, either through treachery, as Richelieu said, or panic, La Valette fled before a Spanish relief force, and the attempt failed. The next year the French under Condé crossed the Pyrenees at the other extremity by the Spanish province of Roussillon into Catalonia. The Catalans, thrown on their own resources, fought bravely, and after terrible losses succeeded in expelling the invaders (1639), the second attempt at invasion failing like the first. On the other hand, the Spanish fleet was completely destroyed by the Dutch in the Downs (1639), and the vast energy and expenditure that Olivares had employed to rehabilitate the Spanish maritime power were wasted.

The war thus alternately blazed and flickered in different parts of Europe without decisive results on either side. But in a war of resources with France Spain was bound to be beaten in the long run, for Richelieu was a more enlightened financier than any Spanish minister could be, and Spain was not yet a politically united nation, like France. Olivares was a man of indomitable energy and of considerable natural ability; his ambition for Spain and himself was great; but, like Fernando the Catholic and the Emperor, he saw that unless Spain was provided with some bond which should knit together the whole population a great destiny would be impossible to it. The temporary bond of spiritual exaltation forged by Fernando and the churchmen in an evil hour was already falling to pieces, and Olivares, looking across the Pyrenees and across the Bay of Biscay, saw two great prosperous nations organized on the natural lines of racial fusion and political territorial unity. He doubtless failed to understand that deeply rooted causes—some of which have been set forth in this book—made the attainment of similar unity in Spain

impossible, except by a slow and cautious process. Olivares, like those who had gone before him, was in a hurry to realize the effects of his policy; he thought to ride roughshod over national tradition, racial prejudice, and ancient charters, and disaster was the inevitable result.

Castile and its dependencies languished, ever more hopelessly sunk in poverty. The Dutch privateers harried the commerce almost off the sea and captured much of the treasure from America; all commerce was prohibited with countries at war with Spain, which nearly amounted to a stoppage of trade altogether. The prices of commodities accordingly rose enormously, and Olivares still further deepened the trouble, instead of remedying it, by reducing the value of coin by half and fixing arbitrary low prices at which foodstuffs might be sold, and thus checked the production. In 1638 the king told the Castilian Cortes that he had been forced to pledge the revenue to the extent of 72,650,000 ducats, which he had borrowed at 8 per cent interest, and another 1 per cent was placed on the Alcabala,* and an increase of the wine excise was voted. But matters had now reached a point in the kingdoms of Castile when additions to the taxation defeated their own ends and produced no increase of revenue, and Olivares was forced to turn elsewhere for money.

It has already been pointed out how different were the racial composition and governmental traditions of Catalonia from those of Castile and the south. Not only had the Catalan and Aragonese Cortes retained jealously their hold over the purse, but as they consisted of the representatives of all classes of society they were able to prevent any attempt on the part of the crown to infringe the autonomous charters under which the people had grown up. The Catalans especially were, and are, a race of extraordinary vigour, enterprise, and

* When it was found that this extra 1 per cent produced less than was expected, owing to the falling off of transactions, Olivares attempted to increase it still further. The Cortes, however, positively refused to vote any more at the time.

activity—the bone and sinew of Spanish industry. They had hardly been touched by the causes that had reduced most of Spain to slothful pride and poverty. No crushing alcabalas and millions had killed their industries and commerce; no corrupt crowd of idle courtiers and danglers had deteriorated the character of their industrious cities; to them the King of Aragon was not a sacerdotal sovereign like the king in Castile, but the absentee head of a nation who only ruled by virtue of a bargain which must be fulfilled. The tongue and literature of the Catalans, moreover, were Provençal rather than Castilian, and they had never been subjected to the rule of any other potentate or government but their own.

When Olivares had taken the king to Barcelona,* in 1626, and again in 1632, the Cortes refused the unconstitutional demands of the minister involving greatly increased grants, and, as we have seen on the former occasion, Philip IV left the city in a rage. In 1640, when all other means of raising funds were exhausted, Olivares told the council in Madrid that in the national extremity in which they were the special charter of Catalonia should be disregarded, and the Catalans taxed in proportion to their wealth. He also ordered unconstitutionally 6,000 Catalan troops to be raised for service in Italy, and ordered quarters to be provided in Catalonia for a Castilian army which was to operate against France.

It was this last measure that set the tinder ablaze. The Castilian soldiers, as was their wont, gave themselves airs of superiority, which the Catalans were ill inclined to brook. The viceroy, Santa Coloma, too, was arrogant and unwise, advising Olivares to harsh and extreme measures. The unpaid Castilian soldiery took to plundering the inhabitants of the places where they were quartered, the hatred of the Catalans grew deeper and deeper, and armed struggles were

* Barcelona was then and still remains by far the most wealthy and prosperous city in Spain, and the population of the territory of Catalonia at this time amounted to over a million.

constant. Suddenly, without warning, on June 7, 1640, the revolution flamed out. Barcelona was full of highland harvesters, rough, independent, and bellicose, and the cry went forth: "Vengeance and liberty! Death to the Government! Long live the king!" Like an avalanche the tide of massacre swept through the city. Santa Coloma was hacked to pieces by peasants' knives, and every Spanish soldier who did not flee was murdered. The insurrection spread rapidly throughout the province. Olivares tried mildness, but the Catalan blood was up, and anarchy was the result. Then a policy of ruthless severity—almost of extermination—was attempted. The peasants and townsmen resisted like heroes, and begged for French aid, which Richelieu promised. This thoroughly alarmed Olivares, and with reason, and the Catalans were promised respect for their ancient rights. The French betrayed them and returned home. The Catalans were divided by the conciliatory policy of Castile, and for a time Olivares was victorious (December, 1640). The army under the Marquis de los Velez marched through the country from the south, subduing it as he went; but when he reached Barcelona he found the city with its vast fortress, Monjuich, ready to resist him, armed to the teeth. The citizens had thrown off allegiance to Philip IV and proclaimed themselves subjects of the French king. The Castilians endeavoured to storm Monjuich (January, 1641), and were defeated with terrible slaughter, and in a few weeks all Catalonia was aflame again. Louis XIII, by proxy, took the oath as sovereign of the principality. One Spanish commander after another tried ineffectually to reconquer the lost territory. Roussillon* and most of Catalonia were crowded with French troops, and Philip, in Madrid, with his panic-stricken court, began to look askance at the minister whose policy had brought him to this pass.

* Roussillon, on the north of the Pyrenees, never returned again to the subjection of Spain.

Philip was indolent and pleasure-loving, but he was the proudest man alive, and felt keenly this blow to his sovereignty, though upon his parchment mask no emotion was ever allowed to show, and he decided himself to go and endeavour to bring his lost subjects back to their obedience. Olivares remonstrated and protested in vain. Philip, for the first time perhaps in his life, had his own way and learned the truth. To his dismay, he found that all Catalonia, and even most of Aragon, were firmly held by the French; he saw that Roussillon was lost for ever to him; his army under the Marquis of Leganes was defeated, unpaid, and deserting. Disappointed and heartbroken, Philip could only return tamely to Madrid at the end of 1642, his eyes opened now to the misery of his people, and his ears to the universal denunciation of his minister. Olivares was dismissed suddenly (January, 1643), but not unkindly—for Philip was gentle and clement—though all Spain was crying for the fallen Guzman's head.* The disgrace broke the heart and turned the brain of the proud Olivares, who rapidly sank to madness and to death.†

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* A minute account of events at this time (1640–1644), with much detail as to the war in Catalonia, will be found in the News Letters (Avisos) of the period, printed in 1790, in the Semanario Erudito of Valladares, vols. xxxi–xxxiii. See also the contemporary Historia de los movimientos separacion y guerra de Cataluña, by Francisco de Melo, reaching to the defeat of the Castilians before Barcelona (1641).

† The following is a list of the offices filled by Olivares and the emoluments he enjoyed:

| | Ducats per annum. |
|---|---|
| The pensioned knighthoods | 12,000 |
| Lord Chamberlain | 18,000 |
| Master of the Horse | 28,000 |
| Lord Chancellor of the Indies | 48,000 |
| Master of the Bedchamber | 12,000 |
| Privilege of sending an annual cargo to the Indies | 200,000 |
| Constable of the Palace of Seville | 4,000 |
| Chief Constable of the Casa de Contratacion | 6,000 |
| The town dues of San Lucar | 50,000 |
| Salary of his wife as Mistress of the Robes | 44,000 |
| | 422,000 |

There was another cause for his fall, even more galling to the pride of Philip than the revolt of his richest Spanish dominions. Philip II, when he succeeded by force and bribery combined to the vacant crown of Portugal, had promised that the country should be governed according to its ancient laws and administered by native officers. There had been no attempt to merge the two kingdoms, and the misery and exhaustion of Castile had never fallen upon Portugal, for the financial system of the latter realm had remained intact, the taxation had been comparatively moderate, and the rich trade of Asia and Africa was centred in Lisbon. But Olivares dreamed of a great Peninsular nation politically united, and from his first accession of power aroused the distrust and hatred of the Portuguese by trenching upon the independence they cherished. Spaniards, mostly corrupt courtiers, were foisted into the Portuguese viceroyalties, bishoprics, governorships, and secretaryships. The Indian trade was transferred to Cadiz, the Portuguese shipping suffered heavily from the attacks of the enemies of Spain, and her colonies were raided by French and Dutch, while all her own forces were employed in Spanish quarrels with which Portugal had no concern.

Then Olivares (1636) had begun by fixing on Portugal a special Castilian tax of 5 per cent upon property of every description, and his agent, Vasconcellos, had treated remonstrance with insult and scorn. A rising was the result, which was suppressed by the conciliatory attitude of the vice-queen —a relative of Philip IV, Dowager Duchess of Mantua. But Olivares would have no conciliation, and not only decreed a further special tax as a punishment, but elaborated a plan for abolishing the Portuguese Parliaments and bringing the members to sit in the effete Cortes of Castile. The legitimate Portuguese heir to the throne that had been usurped by Philip II was Duke John of Braganza, the first of Portuguese nobles, whose vast estates extended over a quarter of the

whole kingdom. He was indolent and luxurious, living splendidly on his lands and quite apart from politics, but in the first rising in Lisbon his name had been cheered by the populace, and Olivares had tried cajolery, authority, even treachery, to induce him to go to Spain or abroad. Great missions and commands had been offered to him, the king had summoned him to council, but Braganza always found an excuse for remaining among his own vassals, safe in Villa Viçosa. Discontent in the meanwhile was gradually consolidating round the name of the duke. Pinto Ribeiro, his secretary, was at the head of the conspiracy, and cleverly managed a triumphal reception of his master by the populace on the occasion of a visit of the duke to Lisbon. Olivares, in the hope of gaining over Braganza, had authorized him to place the fortresses of Portugal into a good state of defence, and had sent him money for that purpose. The opportunity was taken for placing the strong places in the hands of loyal Portuguese.

When it was too late, Olivares took fright in earnest and sent a peremptory summons to Braganza in the name of the king. The duke pretended to start when he could delay no longer, and it was seen that this was the moment to strike, or never. A comparatively small force of conspirators seized the palace of Lisbon in December, 1640, killing Vasconcellos and deposing the regent. The populace joined almost to a man. Amid frantic joy Braganza was proclaimed King John IV of Portugal, and within twenty-four hours the whole nation had acclaimed him sovereign, though he himself was still lurking timidly at Villa Viçosa. The news came to Madrid when the gloom of the Catalonian revolt was deepening. None dared tell the king, for Olivares had deceived him about Portugal from the first, and he had no thought of trouble from that quarter. But the court was full of foes of the favourite, and Olivares was obliged to break the bitter truth himself to his master before his enemies did so to his dis-

advantage. "Good news! good news!" he cried, with smiling face, as he entered the chamber. "Good news! your Majesty has gained a fresh duchy and a great estate." "How so?" asked Philip. "Sire," was the reply, "the Duke of Braganza has lost his reason and revolted, proclaiming himself King of Portugal, so that his estates are forfeited to you." Philip knew better, and, though he made no sign, this terrible loss rankled in his heart and contributed not a little to the fall of the minister.

From then until his own ruin Olivares tried again and again by plot and poison to win back Portugal for his master, for the Catalan revolt made it impossible to reconquer the kingdom by force of arms.* But all without avail; the old dream of Castile was really as dead now as the eastward ambition of Aragon. It was no longer a question of extending to the ends of the earth the dominions of Spain, but a death struggle to maintain the integrity of her own soil. Even Andalusia made an attempt to establish a separate sovereignty under the greatest territorial noble in the land, the Duke of Medina-Sidonia, the head of Olivares's own house, and brother to the new Queen of Portugal. In the hands of another leader it might have been successful, but Medina-Sidonia was a poor creature, like his ancestor of the Armada, and submitted on summons.

Thus it will be seen that after twenty-five years of Philip IV and Olivares Spain had descended to a lower depth of misery and impotence even than in the black reign of Philip III and Lerma. With the favourite's fall the sanguine people thought that the evil fate that had befallen Spain would at once be banished. The queen—Elizabeth of Bourbon—aroused the king at last to some sense of his duty as a monarch; the councils, which under Olivares had been powerless,

* A half-hearted attempt at the reconquest of Portugal was made, but the poverty of the country, the war in Catalonia, and the general discouragement made success impossible.

once more entered into the exercise of their functions, and all Spain, from Philip to the beggar at his gates, dreamed that a new era was dawning. Richelieu, too, the bitter enemy of Spain, was dead, and Louis XIII soon afterward followed him to the grave (May, 1643), Anne of Austria, the Spanish king's sister, succeeding to the regency of France for her infant son, Louis XIV. With some diplomacy, and perhaps a sacrifice of pride on the part of Spain, peace might now have been made. But Philip and his people were once again in the stirrups, and took the fatal resolution of pursuing the war against France vigorously in central Europe. The popular and able young Infante Fernando had died (November, 1641), and the Belgic provinces were ruled by Don Francisco de Melo, a Portuguese noble. After some small successes over the French in Flanders, Melo with a Spanish army of 20,000 men besieged the town of Rocroy on the French frontier. Young Condé with an army of Frenchmen of equal strength hastened to relieve the place, and against the advice of his mentor, Marshal l'Hôpital, attacked Melo (May 19, 1643). In the battle which followed, the Spanish infantry, which from the time of the emperor, a hundred years before, had been the most famous in Europe, suffered the deathblow of its prestige. Six thousand Spaniards were captured and 8,000 lay dead on the field. All the guns and most of the baggage were captured by the French, and on the fatal day of Rocroy the Spanish men at arms proved that the dry rot that had entered into the heart of the nation had not spared them. Condé lost no time, and Belgic Flanders was soon in his hands up to the gates of Brussels. Thenceforward the wars dragged on with varying fortunes. In Catalonia, on the Portuguese frontier, and in Flanders, year after year, the blood and treasure of ruined Spain and plundered America were poured out, seemingly in vain. An attempt in July, 1647, to obtain funds unconstitutionally from Naples led to what is called the revolt of Massaniello, and there,

too, anarchy soon reigned supreme. But the attempt of the Duke of Guise to assert his shadowy claim to the Neapolitan crown cooled Mazarin and the French Government toward the revolt, and the popular young Don John of Austria, the natural son of Philip, once more saved Naples to Spain.

The long war had, however, not only exhausted Spain, but all Europe, and peace was an absolute necessity. After years of negotiation, in 1648 the treaty of Münster was arranged with the Dutch. There was no peace between France and Spain for years to come yet, but the inevitable recognition by the latter country of the independence of Holland closed a sanguinary struggle of nearly a century, and Spanish pride and obstinacy were humbled to the dust before the world. Still, the war with France dragged on intermittently, for Philip demanded that all Spanish soil occupied by the victorious French should be abandoned, and though Mazarin's hands were full with the troubles of the Fronde this was seen to be impossible. On the successful establishment of the commonwealth in England Philip somewhat ungenerously turned ostentatiously to the friendship of Cromwell, believing doubtless that common cause with him might be made against the French. The demands of the Lord Protector, however, inflamed the pride of the Spaniard. The Inquisition must, he said, be curbed in its power over Englishmen in Spain, and trade with the Spanish colonies must be opened to England. These demands were haughtily refused, and Cromwell at once retorted by capturing Jamaica and signing an alliance with France (November, 1655).

Philip's heart was well-nigh broken. Calamity followed him without cessation or truce. His territories were in the hands of his enemies, his resources were really ended now, and his private sorrows had taken from him all vigour and all hope. His first wife had died in 1644, and two years later his only son and heir, Don Baltasar Carlos, had gone to his

untimely grave. The king had married shortly afterward his girl-niece, Mariana of Austria, for the sake of the succession, and in order to satisfy the scandalized churchmen whom the king's openly licentious life had shocked beyond measure. But pleasure of all sorts palled now upon the king. Buffoons played their antics, actresses exhibited their charms, and poets spouted their verses in vain; the ghastly, rigid face of Philip never relaxed, and the rebellious outpourings of his heart against the evil fortune that pursued him and his country were seen but by one human being at the time, the nun Maria de Agreda, who alone of all his fellow-creatures could sound the misery of Philip's soul as we can do who are privileged to read the secret correspondence between them.

And still the war in Catalonia, on the Portuguese frontier, and in Flanders dragged on. Don Juan, the king's son,* was the national hero, and gained such successes as fell to the Spaniards, but circumstances rather than skill or valour at last brought peace to the suffering land. The Catalans had found by experience that the French domination over their principality was no easy one, and had gradually cooled toward their new masters. When, therefore, peace negotiations were at length undertaken, there was no great difficulty in inducing the French to surrender the territory south of the Pyrenees, which, it was evident, they could not hold against the wish of the inhabitants; but Roussillon became thenceforward French evermore, as did most of the county of Artois and French Flanders, while the English retained Dunkirk. The kernel of the laboriously negotiated treaty, however, was the marriage of the youthful Louis XIV with his Spanish cousin Maria Theresa, and in April, 1660, Philip, old and broken down with trouble, travelled in a blaze of magnifi-

* His mother was the renowned actress Maria Calderon (the Calderona), who shared with Maria Riquelme, Francisca Beson, and Josefa Vaca the applause and admiration of a public who were perfectly infatuated with dramatic amusements.

cence to the French frontier, where, on the famous isle of Pheasants, in the Bidassoa, the marriage which brought such important results to Spain was solemnly ratified.

The treaty of the Pyrenees was a crushing blow to Spanish self-esteem, but it at least left Philip with his hands free to reconquer Portugal. He had long ago fallen back into his habits of sloth and self-indulgence, leaving all his duties to be performed by his favourite, Don Juan de Haro, who was almost as indolent as himself, and had already been shamefully beaten more than once by the Portuguese. When the king's son, Don Juan, with the whole Spanish army therefore invaded Portugal early in 1661, Haro looked but coldly upon the enterprise, and grudgingly listened to Don Juan's repeated demands for re-enforcement and resources. Portugal itself was a prey at the time to civil strife, and would have easily been overcome but for the English aid rendered by Charles II, who had married the Portuguese Princess Catharine of Braganza. The genius of Marshal Schomberg, and this aid, enabled the Portuguese to crush the army of Don Juan at Amegial (June, 1663), 8,000 Spaniards being lost, with the whole of their guns, baggage, and standards. Ruined Spain was again bled till another army was mustered under Count Caracena, who in turn was routed with fearful slaughter by Schomberg (June, 1665), and then the writing on the wall was blazing out clearly to be seen by the blindest. Portugal was lost to the Spanish crown, and Iberian unity was a baseless dream.

The conviction broke the heart of Philip IV. For the only time in his life he displayed emotion when he heard the fell news. Casting himself in an agony of grief upon the bare ground, he could only sob out in his misery, "God's will be done!" Around him was unrelieved gloom. His pleasures, for which he had sacrificed everything, had turned to ashes in his mouth. His only legitimate son was a puling infant, so weak and degenerate as only to be kept alive by extraordinary

expedients. The young queen, in the flower of her youth, was self-seeking, and scheming for her own hand when her husband should be dead. A true Austrian, she had from the first day of her marriage set herself to neutralize French influence in Spain by means of her camarilla of priests and favourites, and already before the king's death the forces which years afterward were to rend Europe in twain were ranging themselves. Humbled, and filled with gloomy forebodings for his country and himself, Philip the Great, the heartbroken, worn-out voluptuary, at last (September, 1665) sank to rest for good in the porphyry coffin into which he had so often in his morbid misery fitted his living frame. He had done nothing in his sixty years of life to relieve the sufferings of his wretched people. During his long reign his country had lost territory, glory, wealth, and prestige. The French, English, and Dutch openly flouted the power which had loomed so large even in the evil days of Philip's father. But through it all the Castilian people loved and revered him, and the whole nation rang with lament when he died. For was he not King of Castile, and did not Heaven afflict him as it afflicted his people? Was the good king to be blamed because it pleased God to send misfortune to Spain? He was, indeed, like his father and grandfather before him, popular because he was degenerate in the same degree as his people, and represented faithfully the national characteristics of his time. He was idle and pleasure-loving, as his people were; if he was carried away by the love of glittering gewgaws, so were they; if he was taciturn and haughty, he shared those qualities with most of his subjects; if he was poetic, artistic, and literary, so was the crowd that cheered him; and, finally, if he was ignorant, bigoted, prejudiced, good-hearted, and brave, so were the Spaniards of his generation. He was one of themselves, and they loved him because his faults were theirs, notwithstanding the satirists and poetasters who deluged the capital with pasquins upon sovereign and people alike.

The condition of the Spanish people themselves during this disastrous period was, in fact, materially and morally, such as must inevitably result from the universal decadence which had been forced upon them. It was necessary for them to drink to the dregs the cup of poisonous stimulant which for a time had seemed to give them strength and impetus; and though the bitterest drops were yet to come, the lethargy and demoralization had by the time of Philip IV's death crept to the very heart of the people, and not one element of the whole nation was sound or healthy. The continued vicious and oppressive system of taxation described in previous pages had reduced agriculture and manufacturing industry to a shadow. The "millions" excise on food had been raised to an eighth of the value of the most necessary articles of consumption, while the crushing alcabala had been gradually forced up to 14 per cent on all sales. When to this is added the universal imposition of local tolls and octrois, it will be understood that commercial movement in the country itself was practically killed. To complete the ruin, commerce was prohibited entirely with all those countries with which Spain was at war; and as this included the most progressive and manufacturing countries in Europe, and those which were the best customers for Spanish produce, it meant a stoppage of foreign trade as well. This, and the constant seizures and forced loans upon Spanish merchants, threw such business as there was into the hands of foreigners, mostly Italians, and enormously increased contraband, to the still further depletion of the national treasury.

In the absence of productive industry or business the population flocked into the capital,* in order, if possible, to partake of the plunder which fell to the noble and clerical classes. Corruption was so rife in all branches of the public service that Philip told the Cortes of 1654 that out of the

* The population of Madrid at this period was about 200,000 (although a Spanish antiquary of our own times gives it as 370,000).

nominal 10,000,000 ducats of annual revenue from Castile the amount actually received in the treasury did not exceed 3,000,000. By the end of the reign the whole sum received from all sources, including the American silver, can hardly have exceeded 9,000,000 ducats, or £1,100,000. The plunder therefore clinging to the fingers of viceroys, officers, and administrators must have been tremendous. As most of these personages belonged to the noble class, who, with the bloated landowning religious corporations, were exempt from regular taxation, it will be seen that a time had arrived when the whole of the national wealth was in the hands of these two classes. Occasionally in times of dire need they voluntarily, or by force, supplied large contributions of men and money, or the wars in which Spain was engaged must have ceased for mere want of resources; but, withal, the main characteristic feature of the life of the people at the period was the close juxtaposition of the most abject poverty with an ostentation of dress and demeanour that left an enduring mark upon the whole nation. "Pragmatics" were issued frequently, forbidding extravagant luxury, and especially the prevailing vice of the time, the licentious idling about in coaches, but without permanent effect.

In such circumstances as these it will be well understood that the principal cities, and especially Madrid, were perfect sinks of iniquity, and the immodesty of the women especially passed into a proverb. Feast days were very numerous, and every opportunity was taken for ceremonial shows, bullfights and cane tourneys, in which nobles and gentlemen appeared, vying with each other in extravagant expenditure. The two theatres of the capital and the performances of the wandering dramatic troupes all over the country were always thronged with spectators; the making and reciting of verses, comedies, and satires gave an excuse for almost general idleness in the cities. Priests, friars, sham gentlemen, and, above all, pretended students, crowded every street, and lived upon

the willing or unwilling contributions of others; there was no high national ideal now, no sense of a divine religious mission. Soldiers fought in wars of which they knew nothing; unpaid, half starved, and in rags, fighting only because even this poor idle trade was better than none at all. The officers, drawn from the class which the centralizing blight of the house of Austria had paralyzed, were usually incompetent, and, like the civil administrators, utterly corrupt. The Inquisition had crushed independent thought and scientific culture, religion under the same baleful influence had sunk into black superstition, and over the whole nation there hung the pall of despairing misery and disillusionment.

We have pointed out that in each of the previous periods of dissolution which had overtaken Spain the intellectual production of the people had reached its highest degree of excellence, and had then rapidly declined under the weight of its own facility and overfloridness. This is exactly what happened for the third time during the reign of the fourth Philip. The king himself was not only an anonymous poet and dramatist, but patronized men of letters, actors, and artists, and in affected "floral games" and "academies" set the fashion of dilettanteism and virtuosity. The prodigious productive faculty of Lope de Vega had been accompanied by almost unrivalled genius, but even in his case overfacility led him often into work unworthy of him, and the same may be said of the great men who followed him, such as Calderon, Montalvan, Moreto, and Velez de Guevara. But these and several other writers contemporary with them succeeded by means of their best work in raising the Spanish drama of the time of Philip IV to the highest brilliancy, and set the fashion to the rest of Europe through Racine, Corneille, and Molière. It was in the work of the smaller men, who imitated them, that the real note of decadence was struck. In a society where every one wrote something, where a satirical verse or a successful gibe might mean office or fortune, it is not surprising

that inferior men endeavoured to attract attention by affected singularity of diction, since the cycle of ideas was strictly limited, and not enlarged by increasing knowledge or speculation.

The decadent school, curiously, was founded by a man of genius, who in his old age found that he was being distanced by newer writers. Gongora, in the time of Philip II and his son, had written poems of which the greatest masters of Spanish verse need not have been ashamed; but later, in his desire to be peculiar, he adopted what Lope de Vega called his *jerga cultidiablesca* (devilish cultured gibberish), which has come to be called after him "Gongorismo." The absurd affectation of cultured obscurity at once caught the fancy of the striving poetasters. Even the great Quevedo, whose wit was as sparkling as his own Castilian was affected, followed Lope in denouncing the *Culta Latiniparla*. Jauregui, another true poet, wrote a discourse against "cultured obscurity," but the new style supplied distinction of a sort for the work of those who lacked brains, and before the death of Philip IV Spanish poetry was already being rapidly choked by the ever-rising flood of cryptic affected babble, which soon completely overwhelmed it.

We have already remarked how the mixed Semitic and Celtic origin of the Spanish people irresistibly impelled the intellect of the nation to present itself in dramatic or pictorial form. Even in the earliest Spanish imitations of the French *chansons de geste* the presentation of the events related is almost invariably in the form of a dramatic description or word picture rather than an introspection of the thoughts, motives, or imaginings of the characters concerned; and this peculiarity had marked every new development of Spanish intellectual production, through rhymed chronicles, religious autos, didactic stories, and pastoral poetry. We have seen how strongly the genius of the nation ran into dramatic lines in this period of Philip IV; but, vast as was the output in

this respect, there was another cognate branch of expression which at the same time opened itself to Spaniards and reached an unrivalled burst of splendour under the discriminate patronage of the king, subsequently to decline similarly and as rapidly as the drama and letters.

The art of the Renaissance had reached Spain from Italy, and the close connection of the emperor both with that country and with Flanders had attracted to his court some of the most eminent painters of both countries. Titian was treated by Charles and his son almost as a friend; Antonio More, Coxcyen, and other Flemings grew rich on the patronage of the Spanish court; and the Spaniards who in the sixteenth century practised pictorial art—Sanchez Coello, Pantoja, Morales, Tristan, and the like—evolved a school in which the influence of both Venice and Flanders is plainly discernible.* Philip II drained Europe of paintings and painters for his vast palace of the Escorial, and the craze for endowing churches and religious foundations in his time and that of his son had drawn to Spain the best artists from Italy for the decoration of the altars, the carving of choir stalls, and the designing of sacred images. After the death of Philip III a complete revolution was to take place in the pictorial art of the Peninsula. Up to that period the battle of the Italian and Germanic styles had resulted, so far as Spanish artists were concerned, in a somewhat insipid eclecticism, in which the Italian influences predominated.

With the coming of Rubens to Spain in 1603 the change first began. The painter brought as presents from the Duke of Mantua to Philip III and Lerma a large number of copies of Italian paintings, but, what was of far more importance, he himself produced while he lived in Spain a great mass of

* This refers more especially to the Castilian painters, who were largely inspired by Titian. The school of Valencia, of which Juan de Juanes and Ribalta may be taken as representatives, was greatly influenced by Rafael and his followers.

splendid emancipated work, glowing with colour, throbbing with life, that irresistibly seized upon the Spanish imagination, starved on the tame rigidity of the only native pictorial art it knew. Here was a form which fell in with the character of the race. Vehement, glowing, lascivious, and florid, the pictures of Rubens opened the eyes of Spanish painters, and thenceforward the art of the Peninsula took a course of its own in which the freedom of Rubens and the manipulative beauty of the Italians are tempered by the sombre outward devotion of Spanish life and the stately traditions of the court. When Charles Stuart came to Madrid (1623) he found in full swing the fashion for making collections of pictures, and himself fell into the craze by purchasing the gallery of the unfortunate murdered Tassis—that proud courtier who had dared to cast his eyes upon the queen. Philip, his host, was already as much in love with picture collecting as with the bull ring or the theatre,* and the patronage thus stimulated brought out the latent Spanish genius. Following Ribera (Spagnoletto), Pacheco, and perhaps Greco, Diego Silva Velasquez had at first adopted a somewhat severe and gloomy version of the Italian taste tempered by the free truthfulness to Nature which had been introduced into Spain by Rubens, but with the coming of Velasquez to court from Seville, and especially after his visit to Italy, he founded the brilliant and splendid school of Spanish painting in which the true presentation of character, naturalness of pose, and freedom of manipulation are the main characteristics. Much of the perfection of Velasquez's paintings is of course owing to his unrivalled genius, but withal it is redolent of the Spanish character. The earlier staidness of his Seville style was in Madrid enlivened by the splendour of the court in which he

* In later years, after the execution of Charles I, when his pictures were sold in England, Philip purchased a large number of them at high prices; and some of the gems of art that adorn the Museo at Madrid came from Whitehall.

lived rich and honoured, and restrained by the haughty taciturnity of the personages he painted and the influence of the Church. Throughout his forty years of life as a court painter he worked incessantly. Every phase of the king's character is stamped indelibly upon the numberless canvases in which he is represented by the great painter. Like a living procession there file before us the gallants, the buffoons, the dwarfs, the princes, the poets, and the nobles, who together made the court of Philip IV what we have represented it. From the ragged, brown water seller of Seville (at Apsley House), the work of Velasquez's youth, to the drawn and ghastly face of the sin-steeped sovereign, painted when the artist was hastening to his grave in 1660, the man's personal genius illumines all he did, and the greatest claim of the "planet king" to the gratitude of the world is that he valued at his true worth the artist that immortalized him.

Other Spanish artists who felt similar influences produced work good in its way, but without the personal stamp that distinguished all that Velasquez did. Ribera, Greco, Mazo, Zurbaran, and their schools were gloomy and sad, but majestic. Murillo alone vies with the master in technical skill, but with less than his giant strength and penetration. Bartolomeo Esteban Murillo possessed the almost pagan Andalusian love of sensuous beauty, and though he was captivated by the grace of such artists as Andrea del Sarto, the atmosphere of devotion by which he was surrounded infused into his work a rapt religiousness which is purely Spanish. But with Murillo the first note of decadence was struck. What with him was a successful striving for holy loveliness, became in the crowd of smaller men that followed him a struggle for the prettiness that led rapidly downhill to mawkish insipidity.

An exactly analogous process was followed in the characteristic Spanish art of wood sculpture. The Flemish, and afterward the Italian, sculptors who had been attracted to Spain by the emperor and his son, brought an attractive,

well-paid art with them upon which Spaniards seized with avidity; and the works of sculpture produced by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century were mostly stiffened imitations of the forms of Michael Angelo, Rafael, and Giulio Romano. The seventeenth century, however, saw the rise and apogee of a purely Spanish school—mainly Andalusian—of painted and gilded wood sculpture for altar pieces and church decoration, in which the freedom of Murillo's painting and his religiosity of feeling are blended with the anatomical perfection of the Italian masters. The specimens still existing of this beautiful art are fortunately legion. The wood—mostly ilex—in which they are executed being durable and protected by the varnished paint, they have often been preserved in perfect condition, and the beautiful statues and statuettes of Montañes, Alfonso del Cano, and Gaspar Becerra are in many cases as exquisite now as when they left the hands of the masters. With the general decline this art, too, became overflorid and meaningless, and by the end of the seventeenth century had lost all its distinction. Architecture followed the same course. The Spanish Gothic had been killed by excess of luxuriant ornament before the middle of the sixteenth century,* and under Juan de Toledo and Herrera it was succeeded by the stern, simple Spanish adaptation of Italian-classic style.† This, in its turn, was encumbered by the rococo monstrosities and sprawling scrolls of Donoso, Churriguera, and their school;‡ and with furniture, altar pieces,* and personal ornament, had lost purity of form and significance before the commencement of the eighteenth century.

Thus it was that during the wretched reign of Charles II (the Bewitched) the Spanish nation in all its elements—its

* As in the chapel of San Juan de los Reyes at Toledo.
† As in the Escorial and the cathedral of Valladolid.
‡ As in the Cadiz cathedral.
* As in the altar pieces of the Calatrava and Saint Luis, Madrid.

literature, its morals, its art, and even the reigning house that had brought this series of calamities upon it—were all sick unto death; its only hope was dissolution and resurrection. The queen mother Mariana, who was left regent for her son, did nothing to stay the downward progress. With a frank acknowledgment of patent facts and the abandonment of unattainable ambitions it might have been possible to make the final catastrophe less ruinous. But Mariana had only one policy, namely, to forward the interests of the empire and to alienate Spain from the friendship with France which the marriage of Louis XIV with Maria Theresa had made possible. For this she was ready to sacrifice everything. She braved Spanish feeling and the opposition of Don Juan by foisting her German confessor, Nithard, into the council, and made him inquisitor general; she acknowledged by treaty the independence of Portugal (1668); she surrounded herself with a foreign bodyguard (*chambergos* they were called in derision, because their uniforms were similar to those worn by the troops of Marshal Schomberg); and before she had held the reins of government for two years she was again at war with France and at feud with the bulk of the Spanish nation led by the popular Don Juan.

The ostensible reason for the war with France was the claim of Louis XIV to the crown of the Spanish Netherlands in right of his wife, whose renunciation of the succession was to be conditional upon the payment of her dowry, which had not been paid.* Soon the French occupied the greater part of Flanders and the Franche-Comté, and once more Spain was bled white to recover the fatal

* There was really no ground whatever for such a claim except the ambition of Louis to gain for France the fine harbours and cities of Flanders. The pretext for the claim was, that as Philip II had left Flanders to his eldest daughter Isabel to the exclusion of his son the King of Spain, the same precedent should be followed on the death of Philip IV.

inheritance which had dragged her down. But in vain; the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668) gave to France all the strong places she had conquered in the Low Countries, while Spain temporarily recovered the Franche-Comté, which was useless to her and she was certain to lose sooner or later. When, in 1672, Louis XIV invaded Holland, in union this time with the corrupt Charles II of England, Spain's hold upon the Belgic provinces seemed doomed, and she was forced again to fight the strongest powers in Europe. The result was the rescue of Holland from France, but the final loss of the Franche-Comté by Spain. Catalonia was invaded and desolated by the French, Spanish Flanders was again overrun, and at the long-drawn-out negotiations for peace at Nimeguen, Spain, as usual, was called upon to make heavy sacrifices in the interests of other powers without her representatives even being consulted. More cities in Spanish Flanders had to be surrendered, Valenciennes, Saint-Omer, Ypres, and Cambrai among others; and while the empty pride of the people was flattered by the wrangles raised by the Spanish envoys for precedence over others, and the clemency of the king in letting his enemies off so easily, the real interests of the country were lost sight of, and all the other countries concerned treated Spain with contemptuous disregard (1678).

When Don Juan had risen against the queen and Nithard at the beginning of the reign, the crew of nobles and courtiers, many of whom had at first joined him, were, after the banishment of Nithard, restrained by the traditional reverence for the throne from proceeding to extremities against Mariana herself. But soon the scandalmongers of the capital began to whisper that the queen had forfeited title to respect, and that one of the facile poets of the palace had become her lover, soon afterward to blossom forth as her minister and favourite, as lavish and insolent as Lerma himself had been. Valenzuela was a mere upstart; and, liberal as he was in

bribes, the means at his disposal now were not sufficient to satisfy the corrupt rivals who surrounded him. Don Juan's friends were busy; and on the morning of the day when the king came of age—at fifteen years (1675)—his signature was secretly obtained to an order recalling his base brother to court.

Mariana was vigilant, the boy king was feeble, nearly idiotic,* and completely under her domination, and as soon as Don Juan appeared in the capital another decree was issued for his banishment. His friends were degraded and exiled, and Valenzuela, now a grandee and the most powerful man in Spain, lorded it over all. But friends of the French interest were still at court, and, in spite of Valenzuela and the queen, kept the king's attention fixed upon the starvation and misery that surrounded him, not only in the homes of the poor now, but even in his own palace; for so completely had production been checked that frequently food could not be obtained at any price. Brigandage, pillage, and anarchy were rife to the very gates of the capital; the French were ravaging Flanders and Catalonia, the governmental administration had quite fallen to pieces, and the only industry left was plunder.

Out of mere weakness, or in the hope of remedying this wretched state of things, the young king was at length (1677) induced to escape from the palace and throw himself into the arms of Don Juan. Mariana was confined to a convent; Valenzuela attempted to escape, but was captured and carried to the Philippines; and the populace, in a frenzy of joy, believed that a new Spanish heaven and earth would grow, as if by magic, from the rule of Don Juan. But the new ruler failed as conspicuously as his predecessor had done.

* He could neither walk nor talk well until his tenth year, and was never out of the management of women until he was of age. By the time he was thirty he had the appearance of a man of sixty, and he died of senile decay before he was forty.

The decadence of the nation had gone too far to be remedied, even if Don Juan had possessed the talent and strength needed for such a task; but while he jealously kept the king from communication with others, and wasted his efforts in trifling attempts to Frenchify Spanish habits and dress, matters went from bad to worse.

The disgraceful peace of Nimeguen was signed and welcomed by the Spanish people; and, now that the French faction in Spain had conquered, Don Juan set about a negotiation for the purpose of perpetuating its influence before another turn of the wheel brought back the Austrian queen mother. The miserable being upon whose sloping shoulders rested the crushing mantle of Charles V was not only in mind a cretin, but in physical characteristics a very Caliban. The repeated intermarriages of the members of his house, of which he was the ultimate result, had reproduced in him an exaggeration of their peculiar type. His lower jaw stood out several inches from the upper, making speech and mastication imperfect, a defect that was increased by the abnormal size of his tongue; his voice was thin and piping, his lank fair hair was sparse, his bulging lymphatic light eyes were leaden, and covered with red lids so heavy as almost to obscure the sight; add to this an intelligence so meagre that he could barely read, and at the best of his manhood only found pleasure in the most childish of games, and it will be understood that not much could be expected of such a creature, married or single, beyond serving as a tool for others.

Even thus early it was seen that he might be the last direct male descendant of the Spanish house of Austria, and it was felt that whichever interest gained the prevailing influence over him by marriage would probably be able to dispose of his heavy inheritance when it should drop from his hand. Don Juan was at the king's side, and after infinite intrigue married him to Marie Louise of Orleans, the niece

of Louis XIV, daughter of Henrietta of England (madame). Don Juan himself did not live to see the consummation of his scheme. He died, probably of poison, in September, 1679, and the king hurried from the deathbed of his brother to seek the embraces and guidance of Mariana, for by himself he could do nothing.

In November the beautiful young French queen entered Spain. She had prayed in an agony of tears to her father and to Louis XIV not to be sent away from gay, brilliant Paris to the gloom of Madrid and the life companionship of an idiot, but her prayers had availed nothing, and she was sent, a sacrifice, to enslave Spain to France. She failed, for she was naturally thoughtless, foolish, and now grew reckless. From the first day she crossed the Pyrenees she shocked the rigid Spanish court by her contempt for the strict etiquette which forbade a queen to laugh. The king was concupiscent, madly in love, and jealous of his bride. Mariana smiled, and only gently chided the folly of the girl; for she saw, if no one else did, that in that funereal palace the dark toils were being gradually wound round the queen who had been sent to supplant her. Tempests of jealous rage, followed by maudlin caresses, childish superstition alternating with equally puerile amusements, at last disgusted the queen with her husband and his court; and, in spite of the remonstrance of the French partisans, she went her own reckless way, while the Austrian faction was busy in its plots for the future. Again and again her hopes of issue were blighted, and at length, in the gloomy, splendid squalour of the old Alcazar, she sank and died, it was said of poison (1689), and the field was again clear for the warring interests to join issue.

Affairs in the wretched country had now almost reached the lowest possible point. There was no responsibility anywhere, for power was handed on from king to nominal ministers, and from them to councils, who shifted it in turn upon

officers, from whom it descended to hirelings and hucksters. The price of food was fixed by decree so low as to put an end to its production, and widespread starvation was the natural result. There were 40,000 foreigners in Madrid, who monopolized all the business that remained, while the whole of the agricultural work in the north and centre of the country was done by Frenchmen who came over for the purpose. The navy had quite disappeared, and the army was unpaid and mutinous. The copper currency had been increased by decree to six times its face value,* and such foreign trade as existed was almost entirely contraband. There was, moreover, no pretence now on the part of Louis XIV of keeping his engagements toward a country so obviously effete; and one concession after another was wrung from Spain until she was driven to resist. Once more the beggared nation had to fight France in Flanders and Catalonia, with the same result as before, and Louis XIV dictated his own terms at the peace of Ratisbon (1684).

Calamities without number swept over the nation—tempest, pestilence, earthquake, and famine; but still the idiot king mumbled his prayers, while the courtiers, priests, and women who surrounded him were buying and selling their influence and plotting from morning till night. The Inquisition, which had in the previous reign been less aggressive, once more raised its head in pride; and, failing all other government, saw its chance of again asserting its baleful political predominance.† In the midst of all this misery it was still possible for the queen mother to wring 12,000

* It was suddenly reduced to its proper value again in 1680, and this measure produced more widespread misery than ever.

† The greatest *auto-de-fé* ever held took place in the Plaza Mayor of Madrid in 1680, with a pomp and splendour greater than ever had been attempted even in the time of Philip II. There were 105 criminals judged in the presence of the king, and 85 noblemen were enlisted as *familiars*. The fire to burn those condemned was a pile 60 feet square and 7 feet high, outside the Fuencarral gate.

men from Spain to help the emperor against the Turk; and a league of powers, Catholic and Protestant, was formed, with Spain among them, to resist the further encroachment of France at any cost.* To aid this end the German party married Charles the Bewitched to the Princess Anne of Neuberg, a daughter of the elector-palatine and sister of the empress; and the French interest retorted by a renewal of the war, in which the Protestant Dutch and Catholic Spaniards fought side by side. The war raged in Flanders, Savoy, and Catalonia for six years. In Catalonia, especially, the struggle was severe, though it was kept up mainly by the Catalans themselves, with but little help from the so-called government in Madrid. At length, though Barcelona was in the hands of the French and some of the principal fortresses in Flanders had been conquered by Louis XIV, the peace of Ryswick was made on quite unusually good terms for Spain—Catalonia, Luxemburg, Mons, and Courtrai being restored by the victorious French to their beaten adversaries.

The reason of this clemency on the part of Louis XIV was not far to seek. Charles II of Spain was already falling into dotage, and it was now understood that no children would be born to him. His imperious German wife and her favourite, Madame Berlips, were sleepless in their vigilance to keep the king in the hands of their party. Both Louis himself and the emperor were grandsons of Philip III, and both had married daughters of Philip IV. As we have seen, the mother and wife of Louis had both renounced their Spanish right of succession, though in the case of Maria Theresa it had been conditional upon the payment of the dowry which was still owing. The emperor, however, relied mainly upon

* The succession of the Prince of Orange to the English throne greatly forwarded this understanding, as it was of importance to him to use the power of his new realm in protecting Holland from French attacks.

his claim to be the senior male representative of the Hapsburg family.* The court in Spain was divided into two camps, each striving its utmost to be in possession of the king when the last hour should come. All Europe took sides. The English ambassador, Colonel Stanhope (whose interesting letters from Madrid should be read), the emperor's minister, and the queen were on the side of the German claimants, while the powerful Cardinal Portocarrero, the French ambassador Harcourt, and many of the principal nobles represented French hopes. It was evidently politic of Louis, therefore, to gain the sympathy of the people at large by his magnanimity at the peace of Ryswick, especially as the general feeling, at least in Castile and the south, was in favour of the succession of a French prince, who should become a Spaniard and continue the old traditions of the throne.

The first object of the two sets of conspirators was to banish their rivals from the king's side. The poor creature had been persuaded that he was bewitched, and he lived in hourly dread of phantoms and imaginary temptations. This delusion, if it was not prompted, at least was utilised by the French party to influence him, and the extraordinary series of intrigues by which they finally had their way is one of the most romantic stories in history. Again and again the king changed his mind as to his successor, as the queen or Portocarrero gained the upper hand. Attempts were made by the powers to arrange matters by partition, but the emperor would not give away a jot of what he claimed as his birthright. While his inheritance was thus being wrangled for, and husbands were being proposed for his wife after he should be dead, poor Charles the Bewitched was nearing his end. His room was crammed with sacred relics and images,

* Whatever might be the case with Aragon and Catalonia, this gave him no right to the crown of Castile. The Austrian cause was therefore always strongest in the former countries.

the Austrian partisans were kept away, and Portocarrero and his monks never left the bedside, threatening him with eternal damnation if he did not leave his kingdom to a French cousin. "What! am I to give kingdoms now?" he asked in a rare flash of intelligence, but he was finally prevailed upon to sign a will in favour of the young Philip, Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV and of Maria Theresa. Once the queen prevailed upon him to promise verbally to undo this and leave his vast dominions to the emperor's son Charles. But the lethargy crept over him again, and the written will stood. On October 29, 1700, it was seen that the last decrepit descendant in the male line of the great emperor was flickering out of the world. He signed a decree appointing a commission of regency, with the queen and Portocarrero, pending the arrival of the new French king, and two days afterward the end came.

The Spanish Hapsburgs and the organization of the wretched country they had sacrificed to their ambition and folly came to an end at the same time. From the first false step of Fernando the Catholic until the death of Charles the Bewitched Spain had progressed to the inevitable ruin imposed upon her by the course pursued by her rulers. There was no escape, no pause in the declension, for the attempt to interfere with natural forces for personal ends could only result in final disaster, and the enslaving of the individual minds, souls, and bodies of a people, with the idea of making them permanently great as a nation, was foredoomed to failure. In the case of Spain the failure was utter and complete. The experiment had cost suffering and sorrow beyond human imagining; the nation had lost two centuries in the race of progress, and, thus heavily handicapped, had to begin afresh the work of civilization, after passing through the fierce purgation of fire that now awaited it.

## A. D. 1600 TO A. D. 1700

### *Summary of progress during this period*

The material and moral decline described in the foregoing chapter had been accompanied by an extraordinary weakening of all established institutions except the crown. The Cortes of Castile became quite effete, and after the time of Olivares even the Cortes of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia shared in the universal enfeeblement. The town councils, which had been the real unit of government, had now become completely corrupt, and lost all power of combination. The nobles—an ever-growing class through the lavish grants and sales of privileges — now formed a bureaucracy rather than an aristocracy, and were only intent individually upon the plunder of office, high or low. All other industry, except the rough labour of production for local consumption, was practically dead. The wines, oil, fruit, etc., raised in the south and east could only be exported from harbours adjoining the places of growth, and this trade, when not prohibited—as it practically was during a long portion of this period —was mainly in the hands of foreigners. Much of the specie which still found its way to Spain from America was sent abroad to pay for the maintenance of the armies abroad, or was concealed by those to whom it belonged; but as Spain herself was now unable to supply her colonies with goods, a considerable contraband trade existed between Spanish America and other countries, and much of the silver never reached Spain at all.

The idleness, extravagance, and frivolity of the people reached their lowest depth at the end of the period now under review. Materially they were ruined, their prestige was gone, and their territory was melting away; but, as on previous occasions of national degeneracy, their luxurious love of pleasure led to an outburst of literary and artistic activity which gave to Spain in this period its golden age.

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### *Summary of what Spain did for the world in this period*

Spain offered no high spiritual ideal to the rest of the world now. Her colonies still stimulated subjects of other countries to exploration, trade, plunder, and conquest, and thus indirectly

added to the world's wealth; but Spain herself had nothing to show but broken ambitions, boastful pretensions, and national impotence. But though this was the case, the world's debt to her is greater at this period than at any other; for in it Don Quixote was published, the Spanish stage inaugurated the modern drama; and while Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Calderon, and Quevedo wrote for all the world, Velasquez, Ribera, Murillo, and Zurbaran painted for all time.

# CHAPTER XII

## THE ARREST OF THE DECLINE—THE FINAL DECAY AND RESURRECTION

Accession of Philip V—The wars of succession—The French influence—Princess des Ursins—The treaty of Utrecht—Elizabeth Farnese and her wars—Death of Philip—Loss of Flanders—Fernando VI—Social, political, and intellectual condition of the people—The era of reform—Charles III—Vast improvements effected—The Jesuits—Reaction—Death of Charles III—Charles IV and Godoy—Spain a satellite of France—The royal family at Bayonne—The Peninsular War—Fernando VII and the Constitution—The return of despotism—Isabel II and Don Carlos—The reign of Isabel—The revolution—Alfonso XII—Conclusion.

THE will of Charles II, leaving the Spanish crown to Philip, Duke of Anjou, was the most important event in the history of Europe since the Reformation. All the nations of Christendom entered into the struggle, because upon the issue of it seemed to depend the dominion of the Mediterranean, the fate of Flanders, the expansion of English shipping and commerce, the future of Italy, the existence of Holland as a state, and, finally, the great question whether the Teuton or the Latin methods should hold sway over two continents. It was this latter consideration that finally divided the forces on both sides and led to the inevitable compromise; but for the first few months Europe stood as if stunned at the shock of the coming contest, while combinations were being perfected, and the French king finally made up his mind as to the attitude he should assume in order to attain

his objects. Upon his decision very much depended. If he had been able to persuade the whole of the powers to his scheme of partition, in order that France should extend her territory over north Italy and Spain as far south as the Ebro, the French nation itself would have been aggrandized; and if Louis was to employ national forces in the coming fight this seemed the object most easily attainable. But the emperor had insisted upon the whole inheritance for his son, and to the young French prince the whole inheritance had been left. The knotty point for Louis, aged as he was, to decide was, whether it was worth while that he should fight half of Europe, and perhaps exhaust his own country, for the purpose of seating upon a neighbouring throne a member of his family, whose descendants in a generation or two at most could not fail to identify themselves with Spanish interests and repudiate French influence. In short, Louis XIV was called upon to resolve whether he should employ French resources to benefit the French nation or to aggrandize his own house, and he chose the latter course. "Gentlemen," he said at last, presenting his young grandson to his assembled court, "this is the King of Spain." The fiat of the *roi soleil* had gone forth, the word which Europe breathlessly awaited was pronounced, and the issues were now clear.

The handsome, bright-faced lad of seventeen, thenceforth Philip V, stood first on Spanish soil in the opening days of the new century (January 28, 1701), and all Spain received him with acclamation, for he came the embodiment of a new national life. Even rebel Catalonia, where the German Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt was viceroy, pronounced at once for the Frenchman, and the first decree signed by the new sovereign when he crossed the Pyrenees was the dismissal of Hesse-Darmstadt in favour of Portocarrero's nephew, the Count of La Palma. The widow of Charles II was banished from court, with all the friends of the Austrian, and the French partisans, Portocarrero, Arias, and Ubilla, were ap-

pointed ministers. But the real governor of Spain in these first days was the Duke de Harcourt, the French ambassador, who took his place in the Spanish council, as henceforward all his successors were intended to do. "*Il n'y a plus de Pyrénées*," said Louis, and politically and socially he meant it. For many years past clever ministers, agents, and spies had provided him with the most minute information with regard to the shortcomings and peculiarities of the old Spanish system of government,* and he had long ago determined to extend French methods and practice to Spain. Portocarrero was a willing instrument, for he was anxious to please his masters, and it was obvious that a radical reform in this administration was absolutely needful. The people at large were, as usual, in glowing hopes that the newcomer would sweep away all the starvation and misery that had grown up under the bad old *régime*, for the fame of his grandfather's power and splendour had already captivated the imagination of Spaniards.

Necessary as strict economy was for the country, the drastic measures of retrenchment adopted in all branches of national expenditure naturally drove into opposition to the new order the hosts of people who had benefited by the old corrupt state of affairs, and the fact that the reforms came in a French guise gave a powerful lever to those who fomented discontent. The measures adopted were also in many cases injudicious; such, for instance, as that giving to peers of France the same privileges in Spain as the native grandees. The country, moreover, was flooded with Frenchmen of all ranks, who gave themselves airs of superiority on the strength of their common nationality with the monarch. The Spanish ministers, too, were jealous, and desirous, especially Portocarrero, of monopolizing influence over the king.

* His instructions to his agents will be found in Recueil des Instructions aux Ambassadeurs Français en Espagne and the reports in the Villars and Harcourt correspondence.

and with this object they competed with each other in subservience to the French.

Soon the populace began to growl, as an ever-increasing number of Frenchmen jostled them in the streets, filled the public offices, and monopolized all branches of trade; and at the Cortes of Castile, called together to recognise Philip as king in May, 1701, a demand was made that the representatives of the people should be consulted as to the sweeping financial reforms that were being made by the new French finance minister Orry. But the system of Louis XIV did not contemplate any effective control by the taxpayer over the expenditure, and the demand was refused. It was the class of nobles who suffered most—and justly so—from these reforms, since they had for centuries evaded taxation and had solely benefited from the old abuses, and it was naturally this class which led the opposition to Philip. The parties in Spain were thus gradually separating for the fray which had already been commenced by the emperor. Louis XIV had attracted the unstable Duke of Savoy to his side by arranging a marriage between Philip V and the duke's daughter, Marie Louise of Savoy, and the bridegroom was to meet his new queen at Barcelona, after taking the oath in the respective capitals to observe the privileges of Aragon and Catalonia. He was received in both Cortes with enthusiasm, though to his annoyance he had to bargain for the supplies they voted him; and then, while awaiting the arrival of his bride, he set to work to send re-enforcements to his kingdom of Naples, where the emperor had succeeded in raising a revolt.

France and Austria were already at issue in the north of Italy; England and Holland, although they had at first promised to recognise Philip, were prepared to join in the fray, and it was evident that the struggle was about to commence. The young king was spirited and courageous, and after a few months in Barcelona with the brave little Savoyarde who had become his wife, himself started for Naples and Sicily to fight

for his crown, sending Marie Louise as his regent to Madrid. The girl—she was only fourteen—was a person of exceptional ability and firmness, but she had by her side one of the cleverest women in Europe, Anne Marie de la Tremouille, Princess des Ursins, who had been sent as her mentor in the interests of France by Louis XIV, or rather by Madame de Maintenon. Thenceforward for years, during the most troublous crisis of Spain's fate, she did more for the country and for the young king and queen than all the ministers put together. Manners and morals were reformed, light and brightness penetrated where gloom and ignorance alone had existed before. The widowed Anne de la Tremouille had all the untrammelled wit of the highborn French ladies of her time; she was a charming correspondent, a tactful, experienced woman of the world, and, what was more important than all, she was a stateswoman of boldness, penetration, and resource. She was a Frenchwoman sent specially to serve French interests, but she promptly saw that Spaniards hated foreigners, and that the people upon whom her young *protégé's* crown depended in the coming struggle were already half mutinous at the intrusion of French influence. The whole of Spanish society had become disintegrated, the atoms were blindly seeking a magnet around which they might collect, and the princess saw that above the waste of waters that had flooded and drowned all Spanish institutions, the only firm rock that stood out was the traditional reverence of the people for the wearer of the crowns of Castile. This was the nucleus around which she grouped the new order. Again and again Louis XIV reproached her, quarrelled with her, disgraced her, for he considered that she had deserted the interests she had been sent to protect. But without the sympathy of the Spanish people for the king and queen she knew full well that all would be lost, and in defiance of even the irate *roi soleil* she stood firm in defence of Philip and his wife and of Spanish traditions, when everything depended upon her prudence.

Of the long and intricate Wars of the Spanish Succession, which raged in every part of Europe, no account can be given here, except so far as they seemed to influence the development of the Spanish people themselves. After fighting bravely in Italy against Prince Eugène, and partially suppressing the rising in Naples, Philip V was back again in his own capital of Madrid early in 1703 to find himself in the thick of the struggle. Marlborough was on the Rhine with an English army to support the Austrians and Dutch against the French, and a few months before an English fleet of 50 ships, with an army of 12,000 men, had summoned Cadiz to submit to the rightful King of Spain, Charles III of Austria. The Spaniards under the old *régime*, sunk in sloth, and hopeless, would doubtless have made but slight resistance. But the spirit and vigour of the young queen and her French mistress of the robes aroused the nation to a sense of duty toward the crown. It was now no question of religion or even of nationality of the sovereign, for both the claimants were Catholics, and both were foreigners; but almost for the first time in the history of the country the stirring note of common soil and throne for all Spain was struck by the French party.* The spirited little queen turned out her own jewel caskets, and by her eloquence drew forth hidden hoards of bishops and chapters, of palaces, cathedrals, and convents, and Andalusia was placed in a state of defence. The English fleet sailed

* Even if unconsciously, it was felt that the centralizing traditions and methods of the French would tend to unify the whole of the Spanish realms under the crown of Castile, and it was unquestionably this feeling that gave to Philip V his strongest support as soon as it came to be understood that he, under the guidance of the Princess des Ursins, would resist to the death any attempt at partition that might be made or proposed even by Louis XIV. This fact also explains why it was that Catalonia rallied so powerfully for the Archduke Charles, who in sight of the Catalans represented the idea of a federal system in which autonomy of the realms of Aragon might be preserved intact. This is still the point which separates these districts from the rest of Spain and marks the different racial traditions of the peoples.

away to Vigo and captured the silver galleons, but Spanish soil was saved from invasion.

The Spanish nobles who sided with the Austrian had already fled when Philip came back to his capital, and he was able to pursue his work of reorganizing his kingdom without open opposition. There was no Cortes called to hamper him, but Spaniards of known experience and wisdom were consulted. The collection and farming of taxes, which had been so oppressive, were radically reformed. Irrecoverable old taxes on land were remitted and the soil brought again into cultivation; the army was entirely reformed on the French model; economy was enforced everywhere; dress and living were simplified by the example of the king, and Spain began to quicken already with a new life.

Spanish troops were sent to Flanders and Italy, and while the war was raging in its main development in Germany with various fortunes, under Marlborough, Eugène, and Tallard, the Austrian claimant landed in Lisbon with royal honours (May, 1704) with the intention of invading Spain. But the people were now inspired with new energy at the idea of resisting invasion. The Spanish Government acted with promptitude, and collected a large force under Marshal Berwick—who was afterward joined by Philip himself—on the Portuguese frontier, and, trampling down resistance, overran the greater part of Portugal (1704). Foiled in the attempt to dominate Spain from this side, the allies, with an English fleet under Rooke, endeavoured to capture Barcelona, but failed, though on his way back Rooke surprised and took possession of Gibraltar, which was to remain thenceforward an English stronghold (July, 1704), notwithstanding pledges and promises of the English and the strenuous efforts of the Spaniards and French to win it back.

During 1705 the war on the Portuguese border continued, the allies under Lord Galway being faced by the French and Spaniards under Marshal Tessé, now that Berwick had

temporarily retired in disgust at the constant interference of the French Government. The Earl of Peterborough, also with a large force of ships and men, reduced various places on the Spanish coast, and at last induced the Valencians and Catalans to espouse the cause of the Austrian claimant, Charles III. These provinces now understood that the French centralizing system would mean the unification of their governments with that of Castile, and they were ready to fight to the last for the protection of their ancient autonomy. Charles III landed at Barcelona under the wing of Peterborough, and was proclaimed King of Spain with the utmost enthusiasm, and by the end of 1705 he held his sway unchecked over the greater part of the realms of Aragon.

The French cause at the same time was beaten in Italy and Flanders, by Prince Eugène and Marlborough respectively,* and the critical period of the struggle was now reached, so far as concerned the sovereignty of Spain. The final issue depended upon the prevailing sympathies of the Spanish people, and these sympathies were divided. The nobles were, either openly or secretly, in favour of the Austrian, who had been accepted as the champion of the old order of things, as against the French system of reform, and all the local units which feared centralization were ready to acclaim Charles III rather than Philip V. Philip and his wife had struggled bravely to win the hearts of the Spanish people, and they had succeeded in the Castiles; but all the rest of Spain was either against them or doubtful, and if the allies were to be beaten on Spanish soil, ruined Castile alone was not powerful enough to do it. A piteous appeal for help was sent to Louis XIV, and a desperate effort was made to raise fresh forces in Spain itself. With an army of 20,000 men Philip endeavoured to win back the rebel northeast. The savage Catalans, even the women and children, resisted step by step. Philip was at last, after

* Ramillies was fought in May, 1706, and Eugène vanquished Marsin at Turin in September, 1706.

months of persistent struggle, on the point of capturing Barcelona (May, 1706) when an English fleet appeared outside the harbour, and his army fled precipitately. The king himself escaped over the French frontier a fugitive until he reached Madrid. At the same time his army on the Portuguese frontier was vanquished by the allies under Galway, and then indeed all seemed lost. Philip fled to Burgos, while Charles III triumphantly entered Madrid as King of Spain. But Castile at heart still remained faithful to Philip, and gradually the position of Charles III became untenable before the advance of Berwick and his reorganized force, and Philip again entered his capital (October, 1706).

Thenceforward the cause of Philip gradually gained ground. The spirit and persistence shown by the king and his wife won for them fresh sympathies, and by the middle of 1707 the war was confined to the realms of Aragon, which had to be conquered piecemeal by the armies raised in the rest of Spain. The struggle henceforward, though Spaniards knew it not at the time, was not so much between two claimants for the crown of Spain as between two antagonistic racial traditions: the men of Frankish and Gothic blood with their ancient feudal, self-governing assemblies regarding kings as elected chiefs, against the Latin Celtiberians, influenced by Christianity, with their deeply rooted idea of an equal democracy under a semisacred Cæsar; or, in other words, the Teuton against the Latin. At length, in the great battle of Almansa (April, 1707), the English and Germans were routed by Berwick, and the Austrian was thenceforward, except for a short time, confined to the principality of Catalonia. When Valencia and Aragon had finally been conquered Philip V did what even Charles V had not dared to attempt. With a stroke of the pen the autonomy of Aragon was swept away, and the ambition of Fernando the Catholic was thus finally extinguished, for his realm could no longer hope to use the rest of Spain for its ends. While Philip thus prospered in Spain

the Bourbon cause was suffering defeat after defeat at the hands of Marlborough in Flanders, and by the spring of 1710 it became evident that all parties to the struggle were exhausted, and that peace was vitally necessary.

With the consolidation of Philip's cause in Spain the Spaniards had again become jealous of the Frenchmen, whose efforts had made success possible, and the king had been forced to appoint solely Spanish ministers of the old greedy class of nobles. This had resulted in renewed confusion in the administration, and the consequent poverty forced even Philip V to listen to talk of peace. When he learned, however, that his grandfather's plans included the recognition of his Austrian rival as King of Spain and the Indies, leaving Philip only Sicily and Sardinia, both he and his Spanish subjects indignantly rejected any such solution, and again the war proceeded. Renewed sacrifices were made by France and Spain, and once more Spanish enthusiasm was raised to fever heat by the king's appeal to the loyalty of his subjects. Once again the allies were victorious in Valencia and Catalonia, and Philip's armies were driven back, while Charles III re-entered his sulky capital of Madrid (September, 1710). But this was his last effort. The Protestant English and German troops, who protected him, insulted the faith and desecrated the churches; Charles himself was unpopular, and when he fled on the advance of a French army over the Pyrenees it was to return to Madrid no more.

Under Vendôme the French and Philip now advanced from victory to victory; and when, by the death of his brother Joseph, Charles became emperor, the whole situation suddenly changed. The alliance fell to pieces, for none of the powers wished to see Germany controlling Flanders and the Mediterranean. All parties were tired of the long war, and after infinite bickering the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt were signed (1713 and 1714) and the map of Europe was remade. Spain finally ceded to Austria the fatal inheritance

of the Netherlands, and also Naples, Milan, and Sardinia, while Sicily was to go to Savoy.* Catalonia was abandoned by all those who had supported her in her desperate revolt, and was left to the tender mercies of the now undisputed King of Spain. Barcelona grimly held out against its sovereign to the last, and had to be desolated by fire and sword before it finally lay a bleeding ruin, exhausted and helpless, at his feet, and the dearly beloved and costly liberties of Catalonia were crushed into the mould of Castile (September, 1714).

Then at length was Philip of Bourbon really King of all Spain. In the long, cruel war the country had passed through the furnace, and had emerged with her old institutions burned clear away except the crown of Castile. The tablet was vacant for Philip V to write upon it what he would. But the king was unequal to the great task imposed upon him. Under the stress of warlike excitement he was capable of great energy, but directly the pressure was removed he fell back into a moody inaction, which, as he grew older, developed into lethargic insanity. The strong feminine influence that from the first surrounded him had now dominated him completely, and when his brave Savoyard wife died (1714) he fell, without an effort, under the complete control of the old Princess des Ursins, who ruled Spain unchecked in his name.

Under her able guidance, and with the assistance of the French financier Orry, a vast improvement was made in the administration, and the country began to smile once more. But in order that no strong rival influence should creep in to supplant her, the princess conceived the plan of marrying the king to a meek young Parmese princess, the niece of the

* As a final result of the subsequent shuffling of the Italian principalities, Sardinia was given to Savoy in exchange for Sicily, which, with Naples, was retaken from the Austrians by Spain for the benefit of the Infante Charles, the eldest son of Philip V by his second marriage with Elizabeth Farnese.

widow of Charles the Bewitched. The principal recommendation of Elizabeth Farnese was that Alberoni, the Parmese representative, had assured the Princess des Ursins that she had been brought up humbly in the petty Italian court, and would be an easy instrument in the hands of the clever Frenchwoman. The plot was a cunning and characteristically Italian one. The new young queen was in truth an imperious virago, who came to Spain armed by her aunt, the queen dowager, with ample weapons to wreak her vengeance upon the French interest that had vanquished her. The appearance of Elizabeth Farnese over the Pyrenees was the signal for the insulting dismissal and banishment of the aged Princess des Ursins, and thenceforward Spain was ruled by the feline ecclesiastical methods of the small Italian courts, with the sole object of asserting the rights of Elizabeth and her children to the Italian principalities she claimed, and for the recovery of Spanish influence in the sister Peninsula.

The wars which resulted were in no sense of Spanish national concern, but were purely dynastic and Italian in interest. But unhappily Philip V fell more completely under the control of his second wife than of his first, or of the princess, and for many years to come the progress of Spain was retarded and her resources wasted in struggles by land and sea all over Europe, with the main object of aggrandizing the sons of this ambitious woman. With this end the queen and her minister Alberoni intrigued in every court in Europe, and subsidized the Breton conspiracies against the regent Orleans and the Jacobite plots in England. From Sweden to Sicily the network of Alberoni's system of political entanglement spread, and within five years of the queen's arrival in Spain her fleets had been beaten by the English (Syracuse, 1718), the French army had invaded the Basque provinces and Catalonia, the English had occupied the coast of Galicia, and Spain had invaded Sicily and was with difficulty holding her own against the Austrians. To carry on such a series of operations as this had needed

vast efforts and energy on the part of the queen and Alberoni; and Spain, now far more prosperous than it had been for many years, responded to the calls upon it with enthusiasm, in the idea that once more the country was asserting its power over Europe. But Alberoni's reforms had wounded many interests; he was at length sacrificed to the attacks of his enemies (December, 1719), and Spain for the first time for many years found herself really at peace, even with the emperor, who abandoned thenceforward his claim to the Spanish crown.

Elizabeth had found it to her advantage to secure French support to the Italian claims of her sons by arranging a series of marriages between the two Bourbon branches and French influence in Spain for a time again became paramount, to the exclusion of the English, which at one time threatened to oust it. Among these marriages was that of Philip's heir, Luis, Prince of Asturias, to Louise Elizabeth, daughter of the regent Orleans, and that of the young Louis XV to the infant daughter of Philip and Elizabeth. Philip himself, though still in early middle age, had now sunk into a condition of religious melancholy bordering upon lunacy. He had succeeded in introducing French dress and manners into the higher classes of his subjects, but had himself apparently absorbed much of the gloomy mysticism of the Spanish form of devotion. The whole of his existence was passed in a changeless routine of prayer and domesticity in the company of his wife. To divert his thoughts a splendid palace in imitation of Versailles was built at La Granja, upon which vast sums were squandered, and also in collecting pictures and sculpture from every country in Europe to adorn his saloons. But it was all unavailing, and as he sank in deeper despondency the French priests around him had less difficulty in persuading him of the vanity of all earthly things, and in inclining him to abdicate in favour of his son Luis. Elizabeth dared not oppose this too openly, for the Spaniards were already restive at the cost of her wars; and Spain was as-

tounded to hear one morning (January, 1724) that the king had sworn to renounce his crown for ever, and live a private life henceforward in his palace in the mountains of Segovia.

It was soon seen that the boy King Luis and his imprudent and reckless young French wife were after all but puppets in the hands of the clever Italian queen dowager, and once again Europe was ready to burst into flame at Elizabeth Farnese's insistence in prematurely pushing her son Charles into possession of the duchy of Tuscany, to the ultimate succession of which his claim had been acknowledged by the powers. In the midst of the difficulty the young King Luis died, after seven months' reign, at the age of seventeen (August, 1724). Philip was in sore distress that he should thus have again to take up the burden which he had solemnly renounced for ever; but his second son, and next heir, was a child; his wife was insistent, and the wretched man once more became King of Spain, to the almost open discontent of his subjects, who understood that the power behind him was Elizabeth Farnese, and that Spain would again be bled to exhaustion to provide Italian thrones for her sons.

In the meanwhile the regent Orleans had died, and the changed *régime* in France had led to the rupture of the marriage contracts that had been made of Louis XV with a Spanish princess, and of the Infante Charles with Orleans's daughter. It was evident that Elizabeth would now be unable to rely upon French aid for her objects, and she took a bold course, which surprised the world. For a quarter of century the dispute of the Spanish succession had kept the house of Austria and Philip V at enmity. By means of a crafty Dutch minister named Ripperdá a close alliance was now effected between them. The house of Hanover in England was to be deposed and the Stuarts restored; the Catholic religion was again to assert supremacy in Europe; and England and Holland were to be ruined. Spanish, American, and Oriental trade were to be monopolized by Austria through

Ostend and Trieste, and the great days of Spain were to come again, if boasting and sentiment could bring them. It was a pretty plot, for which Spain was to pay everything and to get nothing but the recognition by Austria of the Infante Charles's succession to his Italian dukedom. But Ripperdá deceived everybody—even the queen—as to the real terms of the treaty and as to the extent of the emperor's compliance, and his fall was as meteoric as his rise (1726).

He is mentioned here mainly for one reason. Hitherto the reforms which had taken place in Spain had been principally administrative. The public funds were now collected and spent with comparative honesty, but the system of raising revenue was practically the same. The native industry, art, and commerce of Spain were reduced to almost nothing, and most of the work, such as it was, was done by foreigners. It was Ripperdá who first broke through the evil tradition and endeavoured to set Spaniards to work again. Subsidized factories for weaving cloth were started at Segovia and elsewhere, bounties were given for shipbuilding, duties were abolished on certain raw materials from abroad, and a host of skilled foreign artisans were brought to Spain to instruct native workmen in the industries the latter had forgotten. Ripperdá's measures were wise, and in the main successful, but they hastened his fall; for Spaniards were bitterly jealous of foreigners, and as yet had to learn the lesson that work alone means national wealth.

Though the minister fell, the alliance with Austria continued, and in 1727 Spain found herself again at war with England, until it was seen that Spanish interests were simply being sacrificed to Austrian ends, and a peace was then made (1729) which completely isolated the emperor, and gave England the slave monopoly and freedom to trade in the Spanish colonies. By the aid of England the young Infante Charles was peacefully established in his mother's duchy of Parma, and Elizabeth Farnese's object was thus far attained

(1732). But this was not enough for her. Spain was comparatively strong now, and by the clever intrigues of her ministers and the queen she had gained an influence in Europe far greater than that warranted by her actual strength. The emperor was busy with Poland; Naples and Sicily were discontented under his rule, and again Spain was wantonly plunged into war for the purpose of seizing these two kingdoms for the Infante Charles.

A peace was patched up in 1735, over Elizabeth Farnese's head, by France and Austria, by which Charles was recognised as King of Naples and Sicily on his renunciation of Parma and the succession of Tuscany, to the great annoyance of the queen, who had younger sons for whom she wished to provide. But the state of Spanish feeling was such that she was forced to affect compliance, and bide her time until circumstances allowed her to drag her husband's country once more into war.

A word must be said here respecting the man who, above all others, had enabled Spain, since the fall of Ripperdá, to assume this new commanding position in the world. The good results produced, even during the destructive wars of succession, by the efforts of the enlightened French methods in Spain had opened the eyes of a few of the educated Spaniards of the higher class to the backwardness of their country as a nation, and the minister who for the last ten years had entirely controlled affairs was the most eminent of this new school of Spaniards, José Patiño. A statesman and diplomatist of the first rank, as it was necessary that he should be to hold his own with Walpole, Köningseg, and Fleury, he was greater still as an economist. He saw that if protection and preference could be given to Spanish trade with America the heavy burdens which had ruined the mother country might be lifted. His first effort, therefore, was to revive Spanish shipping, and in a marvellously short space of time he was able by bounties and subsidies to send

from Cadiz squadron after squadron of well-appointed vessels, and, to the expressed dismay of the English ambassador,* to make Spain respected at sea. The American trade again began to reach Spain, for foreign goods were heavily handicapped by Patiño; chartered companies were founded; the remittances of silver were now regular, and larger in amount than before; bounties and subsidies were given to Spanish factories; † contraband was attacked ruthlessly; and by the time Patiño died (1736) the naval power of the country was both formidable and aggressive and commerce had revived. The attempt to suppress buccaneering and the great contraband trade, of which Jamaica was the centre, once more brought Spain into hostilities with England in 1739. The sacking of Porto Bello by Vernon was answered by a great outburst of naval activity in Spain. England found herself faced by a new maritime power which was able to inflict serious damage upon her trade and, in union with France, to threaten her coasts. There was, unfortunately, no one strong enough, now that Patiño was dead, to hold in check the ambition of Elizabeth for her sons; and when the emperor died, in 1740, and the great dispute for the Austrian succession commenced, the chance of successful fishing in troubled waters again drew the Queen of Spain into the vortex of the struggle.

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* Sir Benjamin Keene wrote to Newcastle many times expressing his alarm at the wonderful efforts of Patiño in this direction. "He has," he wrote, "all the treasury at his disposal, and all the money that does not go to Italy to serve the queen's ends is spent in building ships."

† The importation of manufactured goods from abroad was either partially or entirely forbidden, and at one time Philip gave the strictest orders that every functionary and servant of the state should dress in textures woven in Spain alone. The sumptuary "pragmatic" of 1723 was extremely severe in this matter, and enjoined quietness and modesty of attire to all classes, in order that the money spent in dress might remain in Spain, where the ordinary cloth which was prescribed for wear could be made.

For the next six years Spain was at war with Austria in Italy and with England in the Mediterranean, in union successively with Savoy and France, the sole object to be gained by Spain being the establishment of Elizabeth's second son, Philip, as sovereign of Parma and Tuscany, and such other territories as could be won. In July, 1746, the Bourbon cause seemed to have been finally vanquished by the terrible defeat of the Spaniards and French at Piacenza. The Spanish people were in deep discontent at the costly struggle thus forced upon them at a time when the Spanish statesmen of the new school were striving their utmost to revive industrial prosperity, and it was seen that the improvement that was being effected by their efforts was to a great extent nullified by the constant wars, which demanded every ducat of the increased revenue to forward the ambition of the queen. The king himself had now sunk into despairing self-neglect and gloomy sloth, so that the queen disposed of the nation without any restraining influence.

But at last, in the face of such a defeat as that of Piacenza and the intimation of Louis XV that he would fight no longer to place a Spanish infante on a north Italian throne, Elizabeth was forced to listen to negotiations for peace. In the midst of the negotiations Philip V suddenly died, and for two years longer the war raged in Italy, while the endless discussions were proceeding as to the division of the territories.

But the power of Elizabeth Farnese had gone, now that her apathetic husband had disappeared from the scene. Fernando VI, who succeeded as king, was the son of Philip by his first marriage, and though he was magnanimous and good to his stepmother, he knew how vital peace was for Spain, and he was determined that, cost what it might to his half-brothers, peace should prevail in his time. His wife, too, a princess of Braganza, was a stronger spirit than he, and kept Elizabeth at bay; and finally (1748) the peace of Aix-la-Cha-

pelle was signed, by which the Infante Philip was forced to content himself with the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, and a year later a separate treaty between Spain and England settled all the outstanding questions between them.

Thus, after fifty years of almost uninterrupted war, Spain found herself shorn of the whole of her fatal European possessions. Flanders, Luxemburg, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, had all gone. The country was once more reduced to its natural proportions, and able to attend to its home and colonial development, which, as we have seen, had been thrown hopelessly in the background when Spain was dragged into the position of a central European power. The vitality of the Spanish race itself had been abundantly proved by the fact that, in the face of the awful sufferings and interminable sacrifices entailed upon it by the errors and ambition of its rulers, the country had quickened into new life at the creation of the fresh sentimental ideal of unified territory and throne, to take the place of the dead dream of spiritual dictation to the world.

The last fifty years had been a period of intellectual and material improvement, but the improvement was exotic. It had been imposed upon the country in virtue of ideas brought from abroad, and formed no part of the natural development of the people. Spaniards accepted obediently, though often unwillingly and always ignorantly, the reforms dictated to them, and even enjoyed and gloried in the increased power and prosperity which were the result, but the intellectual standards of the people at large had not materially changed. They were still inert, superstitious, and ignorant; still detested foreigners and foreign fashions. The better classes had, in obedience to pragmatics and the example of the king, adopted periwigs and cocked hats instead of side locks and broad brims. The stiff, curved collar, called a *golilla*, which had been universal in and peculiar to Spain for a century, had given place to lace cravats and jabots; French cookery and

French books were affected by people of fashion, and French furniture filled the saloons of the nobles in the capitals, but the people themselves went on their way untouched by such innovations, wearing cloaks and sombreros, doublets and trunk hose, and scorning periwigs and clouded canes. The eternal olla with cabbage and chick-peas, the grapes, the olive oil, the garlic, the fine close white bread, and the *gazpacho* in the south, were the foods of the nation, as they had been since the time of the Romans. Valencians ate their saffron rice, Estremadurans their famous sausage, and Andalusians their tunny fish, as they had done for a thousand years, and do unchanged to-day.

Personally Philip V himself had done little good for Spain, for he was sensual and lethargic unless aroused by great crises, but he had come as the representative of a more modern and enlightened set of ideas than had ruled in the time of the Austrian kings, and his advent had aroused new energy and hope in the nation. His weakness had involved Spain in the ruinous and prolonged series of wars she had undertaken at the bidding of Elizabeth Farnese, but his freedom from the old Spanish tradition of dependence upon noble court favourites had enabled him to choose really good and honest ministers like Orry, Patiño, and Ustariz, who had purified the administration and considerably lightened the burden of taxation upon the individual citizen. It is true that the 14 per cent tax upon every sale and the oppressive millions excise upon food existed still, but they were now largely commuted by municipal quotas, and tax farmers, usurers, and special tribunals no longer drove the taxpayer to utter despair. After the abolition of the Valencian autonomy an interesting experiment was made in taxation there (1717), which for a time was much in favour with economists, and was strongly advocated for the whole of Spain. This was the substitution of a single tax upon salt, for the whole of the separate sources of revenue that had thitherto existed. All tolls, octrois, ex-

cises, etc., were cleared away, the coast customhouses and the salt tax providing the whole contribution of the kingdom of Valencia to the national exchequer. The result was an enormous increase in the production of Valencian textiles, mostly silks, the looms increasing in number from 300 in 1717 to 2,000 in 1722.

As has been remarked, the establishment of chartered companies, bounties, preferential treatment of Spanish trade, and other devices had in the later years of Philip V greatly increased the industrial movement of the country in nearly all directions, but it must be borne in mind that all these were in the nature of artificial stimulants, administered from without. The improvement they produced, though great, was unnatural, inasmuch as it did not spring from the energy or intelligence of those who were most deeply concerned, or from the natural action of industry freed from trammels and disabilities.

Philip had been bold and strong enough to assert his supremacy over the temporal management of the Church in Spain, and to check sternly the attempts of the papacy to encroach upon his prerogatives. The Holy Inquisition was made to understand that it was answerable to the sovereign for the way in which its great powers were exercised, but still the monks and friars, idle and insolent, flocked everywhere, checking, as far as they dared, the introduction of learning or enlightenment from abroad, and almost entirely evading the burden of taxation, though the ecclesiastical possessions and foundations now included nearly a half of the whole soil of the country.

But with all these drawbacks the advance of the national revenue was extraordinary. At the accession of Philip the annual amount collected did not exceed £1,400,000, whereas before his death it reached £2,500,000. It is needless to say that the expenditure grew in a still greater ratio, in consequence of the continued wars and of the extravagance of

Philip and his second wife in building the vast palaces of La Granja and Madrid, the latter to replace the old Alcazar, destroyed by fire, and in purchasing the prodigious number of works of art which they added to the already large collection in the royal palaces.*

Philip had brought from the elegant court of Versailles worthy ideas as to the duty of a sovereign to patronize art and letters, and from the earliest days of his reign he held out to Spanish literature the helping hand it sorely needed. In 1714 the Royal Spanish Academy was founded, and the famous dictionary of the Castilian language, which remains to this day the standard authority, was published twelve years afterward. The National Library, the Royal Academy of History, and the School of Nobles in Madrid also owe their foundation to Philip V, and under his patronage Spanish letters began once more to raise their head from the abject neglect in which they lay. Father Feijoo, a Benedictine, a keen critic (Teatro Critico and Cartas Eruditas), though attacked bitterly by old-fashioned Spaniards for his supposed scepticism, opened to his countrymen a new vein of thought and speculation in the free familiar style which had become fashionable in England and France under the influence of Addison, Steele, and Descartes, while Gregorio Mayans did much to rescue from oblivion the works of great Spaniards who had gone before.

It will thus be seen that materially and intellectually Spain advanced considerably, though unfortunately in most cases still on a false path, during the reign of the weak-willed but well-meaning man who had seated the house of Bourbon on the throne, but politically the state of the people had deteriorated rather than advanced during the same period. The form and framework of representative institutions had disappeared in every part of Spain—except to a limited extent in the

* A list of their purchases will be found in Don Pedro Madrazo's Viage Artistico, Barcelona, 1884.

Basque * provinces, and in the ceremonial assembly of the Cortes of Castile—and a pure undisguised despotism of the French pattern had been substituted. That this change had excited so little opposition in most parts of Spain was due to the fact that it was not entirely out of harmony with the Christianized Latin-Iberian ideal; but it had this disadvantage, that it had not retained—as it had done even in France—any shadow of a connecting link between the irresponsible despot and the mass of the people. The ancient Spanish link had been the autonomous towns and their representatives in the Cortes of Castile, but the town councils in Spain had become effete as representative bodies, and the Cortes were dead. There remained therefore only a supreme king, advised by an informal council of his own capricious choice, or by a minister responsible only to him. There was no constitutional way for the people to approach the king, for the nobles had lost their feudal rights—never strong in Castile—and possessed as a class no political power or influence whatever. It will thus be seen that there was no stability in the foundations upon which the new order of things in Spain had been reared. The people were being governed, and to some extent improved, but they themselves took no part in the process beyond submitting obediently, and the national decadence had only been arrested, not ended, for no permanent renaissance was possible unless evolved by natural process from the hearts and traditions of the people.

This was the nation over which Fernando VI, at the age of thirty-four, was called to rule in 1746. He was known to be enlightened, generous, and just, though by no means a genius, and neither he nor his clever wife, Barbara of Braganza, had any inflated ambition for their country. They saw that the great desiderata for Spaniards were first peace,

* The Kings of Spain are only Lords of Biscay, and the provinces retained their financial and political autonomy until the last Carlist war.

and next the uplifting of the people. Peace was wisely and prudently made, and thenceforward for the whole of his reign Fernando VI and his wife seconded the efforts of his great ministers, Carvajal and the Marquis of Ensenada, to draw the country along the path of civilization and enlightenment. It was a time, be it recollected, when already new views of human rights and duties were being propagated by the lettered class throughout Europe, a time of busy speculation. Thought, at last, was breaking the fetters that arrogance and bigotry imposed upon it, and claiming aloud the right of all human creatures to work out their destinies according to their lights, free from the arbitrary interference of others. Few could yet see clearly how far such theories were capable of being carried, and the generous thought of the universal right of God's creatures to earthly happiness had seized upon some of the best and most enlightened minds of the century. That the governed should demand a share in dictating the means by which their welfare should be attained, had as yet not been dreamed of, at least in Spain, and the enlightened ministers of Fernando VI did their best by despotic decrees to bring renewed prosperity to an inert nation whose whole history had rendered it distrustful of novelty.

There were two distinct currents of policy in the Spanish court, led respectively by the two ministers who divided between them the government of Spain—Carvajal, who was of English noble descent, being consistently in favour of a close friendship between England and Spain, while Ensenada, a man of humble origin, but of far greater attainments and ability than his colleague, strove for an alliance with France alone. These opposing influences in the government made of Madrid at this period a centre of intrigue directed by the French ambassador, Duras, on one side, and by the English ambassador, Sir Benjamin Keene, on the other; and not only were the two Spanish ministers thus kept at cross-purposes with regard to their foreign policy, but the indolence and

dilettante tastes of the king gave occasion for the formation of palace cliques and backstairs influences, which still further complicated the intrigues of the rival powers.*

In the intricate manœuvres by which both England and France endeavoured to draw Spain to their side during the impending war between them the king's half-brothers, the King of Naples and the Duke of Parma, sided with the French and endeavoured to drive Spain into a war against England. This gave an opportunity for the English party to widen the already wide breach between Fernando and the sons of Elizabeth Farnese, for whom Spain had already suffered so much; for Charles of Naples, heir to the crown of Spain, was thus early giving himself airs of proprietorship, which augured ill for the relations between his country and England when he should succeed his brother. But Carvajal was too patriotic and wise to allow Spain to be pledged unduly even to England; and Fernando, if firm in nothing else, was so in the matter of preserving peace. When Carvajal died, in 1752, it seemed for a moment as if Spain would after all be dragged by Charles of Naples, Ensenada, and Duras into war for the benefit of France, but fortunately a counterbalancing influence was found by the friends of peace who influenced the king. Richard Wall, an Irishman, the Spanish ambassador in England, had been bitterly attacked by the French party for the activity with which he had seconded Carvajal's efforts, and now, after a hard struggle, he was appointed to succeed his chief as minister in Madrid. His coming portended the downfall of Ensenada. The new minister found that his colleague had already concluded a secret treaty with France, and was subsidizing opposition to England in America without the king's knowledge,

* Father Rabago, the king's Jesuit confessor, was at the head of a camarilla which often acted quite independently of the official ministers, while Farinelli, the famous Italian singer who had captivated the king and queen, was constantly used for political ends.

and this gave an excuse for the arrest and deportation of Ensenada and the fall of the French party (1754). Ensenada was extremely unpopular, both for his ostentatious extravagance, which recalled the bloated favourites of the old time, and for the innovations which he had so actively forced upon his backward countrymen, and his disgrace was welcomed by the great majority of them. But there is no doubt that more was effected by Ensenada to bring Spain abreast of other nations than by any minister that had preceded him. He had recognised that one of the first needs of the country was the facilitation of means of communication. Spanish roads had been allowed to fall into utter decay, mostly being now mere bridle tracks impassable in bad weather. An attempt was made by Ensenada to render the main roads, at least, practicable. A great number of young Spaniards of the middle and upper classes were sent, at the cost of the state, to study in foreign capitals and bring back modern ideas on science, art, and letters. On the other hand, eminent naval, mechanical, and hydraulic engineers were brought from France and England to resuscitate Spanish manufactures; botanists, naturalists, metallurgists, and mining experts, like Bowle and Ker, were attracted to turn to account the natural resources of the country.* The rich Spanish mines, of which little had been made for centuries, were now actively worked on a royalty of 3½ per cent to the state, and a large revenue was drawn from them, and the American mines were opened on a similar plan. Agriculture was revived by the construction of irrigation canals and by relieving

* How necessary it was to make a supreme effort to improve instruction in Spain is seen in the course of a report written by Ensenada to Fernando VI: "I know not of a single professorship existing in public law, experimental physics, anatomy, or botany. There are no correct geographical charts of Spain or the provinces, nor is there any one who knows how to engrave them. The only maps we have are the imperfect ones which come from France and Holland, and we therefore are ignorant of the true positions of our towns and their distance from one another. This is a disgrace to us."

it of some of the burdens that oppressed it. Subsidies and bounties to manufactured goods, and privileges granted to foreign master-craftsmen establishing factories in Spain once more brought some amount of prosperity to industry. Spain was now in possession of an entirely newly constructed and organized navy of the first class, which, although it owed its existence to Ensenada's persistent enmity to England, yet marked a great advance in the power of Spain to safeguard her own commercial and maritime interests. The minister's favourite plan of a sole tax falling upon all citizens was doomed to failure, but at least the theory led to the simplification of taxation and to sounder ideas with regard to the incidence of the national burdens, and later produced notable results.

Under such enlightened ministers and so peace-loving a king the revenue of the state as well as the wealth and standard of comfort of private citizens rose rapidly. The treasury receipts increased in the eight years prior to 1750 by 5,000,000 ducats per annum to 27,000,000, while the revenues from the colonies were doubled (from 3,000,000 to 6,000,000); and the increase of cloth and silk weaving was so great in the period that practically the whole of the American demand for cloth was now supplied from Spanish looms. There was, indeed, hardly a branch of human knowledge or activity with which Ensenada did not endeavour to endow Spain, from the study of the Arabic manuscripts of the Escorial and the investigation of Spanish antiquities to the perfection of naval construction and astronomical observation. It will be easily understood that great as these efforts were, they failed to touch immediately the vast mass of the humbler citizens or to remedy at once the evils resulting from centuries of war and misgovernment. The transport of food produce had been rendered free of tolls, and a few of the roads had been made passable, but the millions excise tax and the alcabalas still blighted production, notwithstanding Ensenada, and the dead hand of ec-

clesiastical and aristocratic perpetual entail still clutched the land and doomed it to infertility.* After the death of Carvajal and Ensenada attempts were still made continuously to draw Spain into the war between England and France. But Keene and the French ambassador charmed in vain. Fernando offered a deaf ear to the piteous appeals of the former and to the tempting bribes of the latter, and insisted upon Spain's neutrality, determined while he lived that the ambitious errors of his predecessors should not be repeated. Unfortunately, his gentle, kindly life was all too short. Queen Barbara died in August, 1758, and Fernando's grief bereft him of reason. Like his father, he fell into self-neglect and religious melancholy, and lingered in this condition until August, 1759, when he, too, sank to rest—a man of small gifts or energy, but the most truly beneficent sovereign that Spain had known for centuries.

But he came too late, and could not alter the system he inherited. The people were still ignorant and backward from the causes already set forth; the political structure had been destroyed, and the sovereign of Spain was now only a pinnacle of stone on pillars of lath. It was inevitable that the edifice should be recommenced from the base and built up solidly before it could stand stable against the shocks of time. Fernando and his ministers did all that was possible, according to their lights, to make Spain happy and prosperous while the edifice stood. But they, and their still more energetic successors, could do no more than this, for they knew no more, and the trail of the previous Fernando's ambitious mistake was still over the Spanish nation, rendering it unfit to take part in its own government.

The encouragement extended by Fernando VI to learning and intellectual progress was even more marked than

* It was stated that at this time 18,000 square leagues of the most fertile land in Spain had fallen out of cultivation, and 2,000,000 of the agricultural population were on the verge of starvation.

that given by his father. Academies and learned societies sprang up everywhere. The Royal Academy of Noble Arts of San Fernando owed its still vigorous existence to him, the Academy of Latin and that of Ecclesiastical History followed in the capital, while in Barcelona, Seville, and other great centres similar institutions were formed. The spread of somewhat dilettante culture, indeed, became a fashionable fad, and the meetings of the hosts of societies, academies, and the like were frequently an excuse for an assumption of affected preciosity rather than occasions for the serious increase of knowledge. More interesting than these cultured coteries were the large number of commissions of scholars sent at the cost of the government to the various municipalities, cathedrals, and religious houses to catalogue and copy the manuscripts they might find important to the history of Spain, and the patient arrangement of the unrivalled collections of state papers in the national offices. Much was done in this reign, moreover, to set free Spanish life from the tyranny of the Church. The concordat signed with the Pope (1753) at last settled the long dispute between Spain and the papacy with regard to the right of the king to exercise control over the ecclesiastical patronage in his realms, and although in form the Holy Office was as active as ever, neither Fernando nor his father ever sanctioned an *auto de fé* with his presence. In the reign of Philip V no less than 14,000 persons were condemned to various punishments by the Inquisition, but under Fernando VI the spread of intelligence and the character of the king caused educated men to speak out boldly against the interference of the Inquisition in literary and social censorship and the like. The Holy Office itself was on trial at the bar of public opinion, and a marked falling off was noticeable in the number of prosecutions. The most eminent author of the time, Father Feijoo, was arraigned, it is true, because he dared to condemn the excessive number of saints' days and openly to scarify the silly superstitions with which

the faith had been overlaid, but he came triumphantly out of the ordeal, and the king himself imposed perpetual silence upon his calumniators.

Spain, indeed, so far as regarded the upper educated class, was shaking herself free from the rust that had settled down upon her, and was modelling her manners and ideas on those of the French. The gloomy outward devotion gave way to a lighter attitude toward religion, the morals of the people were greatly improved, the style of living was more elegant, and perhaps a trifle more cleanly. And thus, when Charles de Bourbon came from Naples to succeed to his half-brother's kingdom, he found his people sharply divided between an upper class pervaded by French ideas, imitating French culture and aping French dress, and the vast mass of their countrymen, who although they were living under somewhat better conditions than their fathers had lived were yet animated by all the old traditions, prejudices, and dislikes. He found, moreover, Spain at peace, strong on sea and land, with a public service paid and respectable, a solvent treasury, and a people whose politics, among high and low, were all comprised in the one formula: dread reverence for the sovereign of Castile.

Charles had raised Naples from a languishing Spanish viceroyalty to a prosperous and dignified independent realm. He had endowed it with a powerful navy, a flourishing commerce, a well-ordered administration and cultured institutions, and his departure to assume the crown of Spain was an occasion of unfeigned grief for the Neapolitans. It had been arranged by treaty that when Charles should succeed to his brother's throne Naples should pass to his younger brother, the Duke of Parma, whose states should be divided between Austria and Sardinia (Savoy). But Austria was at war, and Charles, with the support of France, contrived, by virtue of a money payment, to pass the kingdom of Naples to his third son, Fernando, a child of eight, making his second son,

Charles, Prince of Asturias, heir of Spain,* while the Duke of Parma and Piacenza retained his former dominions. Charles III therefore arrived in Spain (October, 1759) free from complications and at liberty to govern his new realm in his own way. Everywhere Spaniards received him with open arms, for they knew how well he had done in Naples, and on his slow progress from Barcelona taxes were remitted, privileges were restored, and the affection of the lieges repaid by sympathetic affability. Old Elizabeth Farnese had acted as regent until her son's arrival, and dreamed again of making use of Spain to obtain the duchy of Tuscany for her third son, Luis. But Charles III was made of different stuff from his father and his half-brother. His policy was his own, unswayed by feminine influence,† and his mother was kindly and respectfully made to understand that the days of her domination were over.

Charles had lived out of Spain for over five-and-twenty years, and he came back to all intents and purposes an Italian, determined, cost what it might, to make Spaniards, outwardly at least, conform to the usages of other European peoples. He had none of the forbidding, tetrical Spanish form of devotion, but was saturated with tolerant scepticism which was the mark of French culture of his time, though he was too wise to run counter openly to the religious habits of his new subjects. He was in person an entirely different king from any that Spaniards had ever seen before. Tall, hardy, and laborious, dressing always in the somewhat rough garb of a country gentleman, he passed the whole of his time, when not actually employed in affairs of state, in the open air with his gun and dogs. Rising very early in the morning and din-

* The eldest son, Philip, was an epileptic idiot, and debarred from the succession.

† His wife Amelia, Princess of Poland (daughter of Augustus, Elector of Saxony), died a few months after his accession, and for the rest of his life he remained unmarried and with no feminine influence near him.

ing at eleven, he had usually completed a good day's work before the idle Madrileños were out of bed. He was imperious and obstinate to the last degree, never allowing even his highest subjects to reason or remonstrate with him. Conscious of ability and experience unmatched in his realm, he took upon his own shoulders the whole responsibility of the state machine, entered into war and peace sometimes against the will of his own ministers, and kept his hand on everything, from the direction of international policy to the domestic affairs of his subjects.* He was, indeed, a Charles V without his heaviness, a Philip II without his bigotry, and Fernando VI without his uxoriousness.

With his antecedents and ambitions it is not strange that he at once made common cause with France against England, and pledged his country to the fatal Bourbon family compact, which drew Spain into continued wars with England, entirely for the benefit of France. This fatal step was carried through by the Neapolitan minister Grimaldo, and meant the decline of the power of General Wall. Thenceforward friendly English influence in Spain was dead, and war between the countries became inevitable. In the West Indies the English were everywhere victorious, and captured Granada, Saint Vincent, Saint Lucia, Tobago, and finally Havana (August, 1762), with a vast treasure and 12 ships of war. Manila also surrendered to an English fleet (October, 1762), an English army was victorious in Portugal, and France and Spain were forced to make peace (1763), to the great advantage of England.

Twice again within the next ten years (in 1764 and 1770) the same policy of aggression against England in the interests of France brought Spain upon the brink of war, but the hands

* He was a deft craftsman in many trades, and had made with his own hands every part of a soldier's equipment, including the shoes. He banished the Dukes of Arcos and Osuna because of certain amours of theirs with actresses, and sternly punished the ladies in question.

of Charles III were full of domestic and colonial reforms, and on each occasion he was wise enough, though with some loss of dignity, to draw back in time. Matters, indeed, of the most vital importance were taking place in Spain. Charles had determined to recast Spanish life according to his own model. There was no person or institution to question his will constitutionally, and he and his Neapolitan ministers, Grimaldo and Squillaci, thought that the Spanish people would be as tractable as south Italians were. They forgot, if ever they knew, that in the composition of the Spanish race there entered largely that stubborn, jealous Celtiberian blood that had stiffened both the Carthaginian armies and the legions of Rome; they forgot, too, that the changeless Orient had during long centuries entered into the root of Spanish life, that the confined valleys of the land and the wars of races had made Spaniards hate fiercely all things foreign, and that the nation had drawn its breath of existence for two centuries from its assumed superiority over all others.

The very capital of the Spaniards, it is true, was a byword for ugliness and squalor. Gutters of filth ran down the centre of the streets; piles of refuse barred the way to dirty palaces; crowds of vagrants camped in yawning gateways and frowning porticoes, making it unsafe to traverse the unlit city after nightfall. The fine ladies and gentlemen might strut about by daylight in the garb of modern Europe, but the mass of the people glowered sulkily at them, muffled to the eyes in long cloaks and shadowed by wide sombreros. Madrid shall be swept and garnished, decreed the king; the roads in the provinces shall be cleared of vagrants, public lamps shall make the streets safe at night, and decent drainage shall take the place of accumulated garbage heaps, which were a scandal to a civilized capital. The citizens were aghast. Were they Frenchmen, or Italians, to be treated thus? Their forefathers had needed no such new-fangled fashions when Spain ruled the world, and none should be needed now. So,

throughout Spain, sulky, inert unwillingness to conform to the Italian ideas of civilization was offered to the king's decrees. Charles was their sovereign, and had a right to command; but it was the Italian ministers who thus dared to force upon good Spaniards the manners and customs of an inferior race. At night lamps were broken by cloaked men, and the vulgar mark of patriotism was to be as Spanish, as dark, and as dirty as possible. Nobles of the old school, whose privileges were shorn by the host of new financial enactments, fanned the resistance to reform; priests and friars whispered laments, and held up their hands to Heaven at the impious Italians who scoffed at their useless sloth. Squillaci was marked down for vengeance; for, though from the first day of his reign the king had made the Inquisition and the clergy understand that he would tolerate no interference from them, the sovereign of Castile was too high game even for them to aim at.

The storm burst in March, 1766, when an attempt was made by the Government to enforce the law respecting the dress of the citizens, long cloaks and wide-brimmed hats being forbidden. The revolt was secretly organized and planned by nobles, and almost certainly by priests. Squillaci fled before the public fury, the king's Walloon guard were massacred, and for two days the capital was a prey to pillage and murder, and then the king, in the face of revolution, was forced to promise compliance with the demands of the mob. Henceforward only Spaniards should be ministers, the Walloon guard should be abolished, and the price of bread should be reduced.

But the men behind the revolt aimed at other ends than these, and the revolutionary agitation continued in all the large towns. The priests said that the spirit of Voltairean atheism brought in by foreigners was at the bottom of the unrest; but those who looked beneath the surface saw that this was an attempt of the ecclesiastical organizations, which

felt their erstwhile omnipotent power crumbling, to fasten again upon the country the grip which the king was intent upon shaking off. The Society of Jesus had been purely Spanish in its inception. It had been born of the mystic chivalry which in the sixteenth century was the motive power of the nation. Each member of this militia of God was to himself a secret hero devoting his life in unquestioning obedience to forwarding the divine rule on earth; seeking no recognition from man, because certain of a recognition infinitely higher; demanding no approval of the world, because sure that the Master approved. Sovereigns, institutions, even the Church itself, were to the Jesuits only so many instruments to be used by them for the promotion of religion as they understood it, for the destruction of worldly greatness in order to exalt the greatness of God, to sap secular rule and turn the world into a theocracy. By mundane methods they sought what they considered heavenly ends; they had stooped to conquer, and by the end of the eighteenth century they had so far conquered in Catholic countries as to have captured the springs of knowledge and of ecclesiastical power. What they did with Paraguay was a hint of what they would do with all Christendom, unless a blow was struck that should disable them. The great Portuguese minister Pombal had first been bold enough to beard the giant organization by expelling the fathers from Portugal (1759) because they refused obedience in America. Charles III knew full well that his people could never rise of their own action until education reached them freely and in a secular garb, and he must have understood that while the Jesuits held in their hands the schools and universities of Spain his far-reaching plans of reform would be hampered hopelessly. The riots in Madrid must have convinced him that the problem of the Jesuits had been brought closer home to him than it had been to Pombal, and that the time for coping with the power that thwarted him had come. His minister, the Count of Aranda, was a zealous, even a

violent, reformer. He had lived much abroad, and was impatient at the backwardness of his countrymen, forgetting the reasons which made them ignorant and subservient to the priesthood. By his advice the king broke all the promises he had made to the rioters—except that he did not recall his foreign ministers; and when the continued agitation had convinced Charles and Aranda that the priests were at the bottom of the opposition to reform, a decree fell like a thunderbolt upon Spain (April, 1767), expelling every Jesuit from the king's dominions. The measure was a harsh one, harshly executed both in Spain and the colonies, and the country stood aghast. But the king was sacred, and none dared to question his act, which, he explained, was not prompted by any religious reason, but only by political necessity, the company being disloyal to the Government. Charles would bear no divided sway. The Cortes had faded away, the nobles were without influence or power, the Inquisition had been brought to heel, and now the power behind the priesthood was hustled out of the land, and Charles III stood alone, with no one on earth to question the will he imposed upon his people. The Pope held on for a few years, alternately sulking and shuffling at the demand of the Catholic sovereigns that the Company of Jesus should be suppressed throughout Christendom, but Charles III had his way at last, and the papal decree was signed (1777) by which the Jesuits for a time ceased to exist.

It is impossible even to enumerate the whole of the reforms which followed the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain. Aranda was filled with a burning zeal to make the country progressive and enlightened in a hurry, and there was often but little prudence in his methods. Waste lands which had been abandoned were divided freely among the inhabitants of each district; the export of agricultural produce was permitted; heavy protective duties were placed upon foreign textiles, while raw materials were freed; enormous numbers

of foreign operatives were brought to Spain to re-establish lost industries; canals and roads were constructed everywhere; marshes were drained, and irrigation canals carried fertility to districts thitherto desert; subsidized diligences were run on the principal main roads, and subventioned inns were established on the way. Education was nationalized and secularized, the universities were rendered efficient, and the Holy Inquisition was given to understand that it only existed on sufferance. Spain, in fact, was made to appear outwardly enlightened and advanced. The manners, mode of living, and morals of the better classes still further improved, and vagrancy, so long the curse of Spain, was sternly suppressed, while an effective rural police made the country fairly safe for travellers for the first time in centuries. The working classes unquestionably shared largely in the increased prosperity of the country, but they still left as much of the work as possible to foreigners, and their habits changed but little, most of their increased earnings being spent in dress and merrymaking, and all the old traditions and prejudices remaining intact.

In the long period of wars and misgovernment in Spain itself the American colonies had become the prey of abuses still greater than those of the mother country. Every officer sent from Spain, clerical and lay—and be it recollected that none but native-born Spaniards were eligible for office—simply plundered all he could get, and returned home as soon as possible. No expenditure at all was undertaken for the benefit of the colonies, and out of the vast sum supposed to be sent to the royal exchequer from this source only a very insignificant amount reached Spain. Charles made a determined attempt to cope with this evil, and officers with full authority were sent to reorganize the colonial governments. The class of officials resisted and hampered them as much as they dared, but the reforms were eventually established. But the mother country was far off, the official traditions were

bad, and before many years had passed affairs had sunk back again into their old condition.

The colonial contentions between Spain and Portugal, after many partial arrangements, continued intermittently in South America, England usually being on the side of Portugal, and the family compact insuring to Spain the aid of France. This kept the sore open between England and Spain, and when the American War of Independence broke out, Spain was soon dragged into the struggle by France (1779), which had hastened to recognise the new republic. It was an ill-omened course for a great colonial power like Spain to adopt in countenancing the revolt of colonies; but Charles and his ministers were infatuated with the French connection, and were blind to all else. They went so far as to project with France an invasion of England, which brought them nothing but disaster (1779); and in the following year they were badly beaten by the English fleet under Rodney off Gibraltar; and the Spanish minister, Floridablanca, originated that great league against England which went by the name of "armed neutrality," and is usually credited to Russia. In the course of the long struggle England lost Minorca, which thus returned to Spanish rule, and she had to fight hard, again and again, to hold Gibraltar against the allies, but when peace was finally made (1783) the gate of the Mediterranean still remained in the hands of the English.

Thenceforward until his death, five years later, Charles III strove to keep the peace with all the world. By a treaty with Algiers the Mediterranean was for the future safeguarded against the piracy that had scourged Spanish shipping for centuries, and the reforming king and Floridablanca were then free to devote the whole of their efforts and resources to the improvement of Spain. It is difficult to exaggerate the change that was effected in the outward appearance of the country by the reforms introduced. Hospitals, asylums, and free schools were established in all large towns; the finest

public buildings which still adorn Spanish cities mostly date from this period; bridges and viaducts made transit easy, while harbours and wharves everywhere provided for the enormously increased commerce. Disused convents by the dozen were turned into factories, and industries long forgotten in Spain were re-established under Government patronage by foreign craftsmen. To supply the vast funds necessary for these innumerable schemes a great new national Bank of San Carlos was founded for the issue of £8,000,000 of interest-bearing currency bonds; the alcabalas were reduced from 14 per cent to 5 per cent, and abolished altogether for the first sale. On the other hand, a 5-per-cent tax on all landed incomes was imposed, and heavy duties levied on manufactured goods from abroad. The result was that, although the taxation was much lighter and less oppressive than before, the revenue rose very considerably, reaching over £6,000,000 per annum at the end of the reign, while the population increased from 8,500,000 to 10,250,000 during the twenty-eight years of Charles III's rule.*

Spain had been transformed outwardly in this time, but the pace was too fast. The various classes that had suffered from the reforms joined with the ignorant multitude in their contemptuous scorn of them. On the other side of the Pyrenees the inevitable result of the new doctrines of the natural rights of men was already being felt, and the forces of revolution were gathering, bringing alarm and disillusionment to many reformers, who had not understood whither their theories led them. In Spain itself the reaction hardened as the conservative elements coalesced. Again Spanish vanity began to whisper that those who had always stood up for traditional Spanish ideas as against the foreign faddists were right after all. Priests and friars everywhere fostered the same idea among the ignorant people, and it became still

* It had sunk as low as 6,000,000 at the close of the War of Succession (1715).

more the mark of a good Spaniard to repudiate everything that did not savour of the old times, when Spain was a beggar boasting in rags and the Holy Inquisition was the strongest power in the land.

The king was old and weary—perhaps, indeed, appalled at the magnitude of the events that were seen to be impending, for political reform in the direction of popular control had never entered into his calculations. A beneficent despot himself, he could conceive no other better form of government than that which had enabled him to impose prosperity and order upon his subjects. He was saved the bitterness of seeing the demonstration of the truth that a nation must work out its salvation in its own way, and that his ceaseless labours to make his people civilized and enlightened by decree had never penetrated beneath the surface. He died in the last days of December, 1788, revered and honoured because he was just and wise, not for having turned a grim desert into a smiling land; loved because he was the sacred sovereign and meant well by his people, rather than in gratitude for the immense benefits he had brought to his country. He was a great king—the best that Spain ever had—but he was not a providence, and could not graft a fresh growth upon a withering trunk. Just as the introduction of Gothic vigour had only suspended, not averted, the consummation of the decay which reduced Roman Spain to atoms, so did the new ideas of the French Bourbons only temporarily infuse fresh animation into the expiring embers of the Spanish Empire built upon the perishable basis of arrogant spiritual exaltation.

Charles IV ascended the throne at the age of forty, when the excesses of the French revolutionists were becoming manifest and reaction in Spain was in full flow. The new king was a kindly, timid creature, dominated by a passionate virago of a wife, Maria Luisa of Parma, and between his fears of irritating the French revolutionary governments and

his desire to intercede for his kinsman, Louis XVI, he was promptly driven into a vacillating policy, which eventually made his country the sport and tool of France. First an attempt was made to exclude French ideas from Spain by suppressing all newspapers whatsoever and exacting the oath of allegiance from all foreigners in the country * (1791); then an attempt was made to conciliate the National Assembly in France, which act isolated Charles IV and made him the ally of the men who had guillotined the head of his house. Thenceforward Spain was dragged at the tail of the French Revolution, and the finger of scorn of all the monarchical powers was pointed at the foolish vacillating king, who at such a time was false to his own order and to the dignity of his country.

Charles was sincerely to be pitied, for at the most difficult crisis in modern history he was ridiculously unequal to his great task. He had persuaded himself that he was a genius, and had determined to follow the policy of his great predecessors Charles V and his son, in raising a minister from the gutter in order that he might be dependent entirely upon the will of the sovereign. The person chosen was a young gentleman of the bodyguard called Manuel Godoy, with whom the queen had fallen in love. He was vain, foolish, and dazzled with his good fortune. Surrounded by adulators, and as if by enchantment raised before he was twenty-five to the highest honours the king could bestow, and the supreme direction of affairs—naval, military, and civil—it is not to be wondered at that he was befooled to the top of his bent by the French revolutionary governments, and later by Napoleon, who dangled principalities before him, and scoffed at him as the *âme de boue* whom he could cheat without an effort.

Already in 1792, when Godoy took the reins, the admin-

* There were nearly 30,000 foreign families in Spain at the time, half of which were French.

istration had fallen back into corruption and confusion. The financial inflation induced by the measures of Charles III had collapsed in the reaction, and poverty and distress were general. From motives of economy the army and navy were neglected, but the insolent exactions of the French Revolution, together with the sacrifice of Louis in the face of the unwise protest of Charles, dragged Spain into war with her neighbour (1793), in which Spain was beaten, and was forced to make a humiliating peace. Then the unfortunate country was driven by the French into war against England, in which she had nothing to gain: and thenceforward, with hardly a struggle to free herself, Spain became the bondslave of French politicians. Her interests were scornfully set aside, her resources drained, her territories violated, but each fresh subservience of Charles IV and his fatal minister only led to further demands from Napoleon. No ignoble compliance, no servile truckling, was too abject for Godoy and his master before the new despot, who flattered the one with the hopes of sovereignty and frightened the other with hints of deposition. When Godoy grew restive, as he did once or twice when he saw that Napoleon exacted his pound of flesh to the utmost and derided his promises of repayment, the wretched Spaniard was soon brought to his knees by a threat to disclose to the king the favourite's relations with the queen —relations which were known to every one but Charles IV himself. And so, from one sacrifice to another, suffering Spain was hectored or cajoled. Her armies were scattered throughout Europe at the bidding of the Frenchman to fight against the ancient monarchies in the interests of revolution, which in her soul she loathed; her fleets were shut up in French ports or exterminated at Trafalgar; and yet the Spanish people themselves, who hated all that was French, went on loving and revering their purblind monarch, and cursed only the upstart minister, whom they blamed for all their calamities,

According to his scanty lights, Godoy did his best to continue the reforms initiated by his predecessors, and thereby earned the deeper distrust of his countrymen. The priests especially were against him, for he dared to tax heavily ecclesiastical revenues, prosecuted vigorously those measures which discouraged the flocking of unproductive idlers into the Church, and endeavoured to suppress the vagrancy which allowed enormous numbers of pretended students of the poorest class (which formed 90 per cent of the alumni of the 17 Spanish universities) and mendicants of all sorts to live on doles at the monastery gates.* It is a conspicuous fact that the Spanish traditions of centuries were stronger than the decrees of kings and ministers, and the populace was out of sympathy with the law. People had grown to like sloth, and to enjoy distributing or receiving paltry alms given or demanded in the name of the Virgin. Begging was not disgraceful, as work was, for Heaven might afflict the best of men, and so, decrees notwithstanding, the friar, the impostor, the mumper, and the mendicant flourished as of yore; and although Godoy struggled manfully to promote Spanish industry and education, most of the former was the work of despised foreigners, and the latter in the majority of cases was only used as a cloak for insolent idleness. Almost every class was hit by the increased taxation needed for the wars. During the first three years of Godoy's administration the annual expenditure had risen from £7,000,000 sterling to more than £10,000,000, and most of the increase had at first been paid by taxes on church and landed revenues, and the seizure on loan of charitable endowments; but when these sources failed the old system of taxing food was re-

* A great decrease of ecclesiastical persons had taken place under Charles III (from 176,000 to 147,000), and the falling off was even more remarkable under Godoy. The number of persons claiming nobility and living idly had also fallen off in the same period by one third, but on the accession of Charles IV there were still 470,000 of them.

sorted to, and later every empirical plan to raise money was tried.*

The result was confusion and general discontent, which gradually crystallized round the young heir apparent, Fernando, Prince of Asturias, whom it was assumed Godoy wished to supplant, and who became, as a consequence, the national idol. Gradually the net of Napoleon was spread as the discord in the royal family of Spain grew. While making use of Godoy and keeping him in hand, the emperor privately gave Fernando to understand that he was his friend, and artfully played off the jealous son against Godoy and the queen. Both sides were so eager to injure each other that they failed to see the snares spread for them. Napoleon had extorted from Godoy a secret treaty for the invasion and dismemberment of England's ally, Portugal, by French soldiers marching through Spain (1807), and before even the treaty was signed the troops of the emperor poured over the Pyrenees. The Spanish people looked on doubtfully, but both the prince and Godoy were flattered into the belief that at the critical juncture the Frenchmen would aid his cause against the other. The friends of the prince thought that this was the time to strike the blow, and in November, 1807, formed a conspiracy to poison the queen and depose the king. The plot failed and the prince betrayed his accomplices, but the public irritation against Godoy grew ever more bitter. The attitude of the 100,000 French troops on Spanish soil became more insolent every day, and Portugal, far from being dismembered for the benefit of Godoy, was treated as a French possession. Godoy could no longer blind himself to the fact that he had been cheated, and he conceived the plan of deporting the king and his family to South America, in imitation of the Portuguese royal family, leaving Spain to its fate. Fernando,

* Thenceforward things went from bad to worse, a deficit of several millions sterling recurring every year, until utter penury and confusion overtook Spain.

who thought that the French were there to help him, roused the country. In March, 1808, a rising of the guards and populace swept Godoy away for good; and forced an abdication from the king, in grief and indignation at his son, and ready to appeal to Napoleon, or any one else, for vengeance upon him.

The Spanish people went frantic with joy that their idol, Fernando VII, had become king. With the powerful emperor at his back all would now be well, and Spain would at last be happy. Vain dreams that lasted but a few weeks, for French troops were everywhere lording it over the inhabitants, and Fernando himself was beguiled step by step northward to meet the emperor, who never came to greet and protect him, as he promised to do. Seduced at last over the Pyrenees, as his father and all his family were, Fernando found himself a prisoner in France, and thenceforward he and his wretched kinsmen surpassed each other in servile surrender to the conqueror. The Spanish nation was abandoned, the ancient crown of Castile was dragged at the feet of a lowborn usurper, to be thrown to his brother Joseph as a gift; the one stable institution that had been left in the former wreck, the semisacred sovereignty, was a scoff now for all men.

This was the state of Spain in May, 1808; bankrupt,* unready, and disorganized, with a great French army on its soil, its own forces mostly scattered in foreign lands, and the only authority it knew, its royal house, bickering and squabbling for Napoleon's smile in a foreign land. Then it was that Spaniards gave the finest example ever presented to the rest of Europe. Hating the foreigner, as they always did, revering the wearer of the crown with a passionate devotion unknown to other peoples, they did not count the cost. The 2d of May, 1808, gave the signal for the spontaneous uprising of an un-

* At this time the debt had grown to £72,000,000, and there was an annual deficit of £3,500,000.

armed and abandoned nation against the veteran French legions that had conquered half of Europe in the name of the emperor—the most heroic and splendid sight the world had seen for centuries. Without arms or resources, the commanders and the official class of Spain either against them or neutral, the common people flew to such poor weapons as they could find, and each man became a soldier or, where that was impossible, an isolated killer of Frenchmen. England hastened to help them, and the Napoleonic incubus bled to death from the ulcer of Spain.

Through the five years of war and stress, while foreign armies swept over her desolated soil, two thoughts only moved fighting Spain: the expulsion of the foreigner and the restoration of the sovereign whom the foreigner had stolen from them. Thousands died cheerfully for this, and for this alone; suffering, misery, heroism unrecordable, were lavished for this cause, and Europe—and especially England—looked on with admiration at this sublime devotion to an idea on the part of a people who with the strength of a sentiment had three centuries before dominated the world.

While the great mass of the nation were thus struggling political anarchy ruled supreme. Wherever the French bayonets reached, and not beyond, King Joseph, with a few Spaniards of the upper and official classes and with the blessing of the renegade royal family, imposed a Napoleonic *régime* upon the country; elsewhere self-elected provincial juntas, councils of regency, and competing so-called national juntas, in utter disorganization, and with a thousand extravagances born of inexperience and ignorance, assumed to act in the name of the people. The money, the arms, the skill, the trained soldiers, had mostly to come from England, for the governing Spaniards did little or nothing to help. They had lost the traditions of self-government, and small ambitions and passionate inexperience prevailed over all national considerations. This was the class, mostly advanced *doc-*

*trinaires* of the professional ranks, who in the Cortes of Cadiz (1810–1812), amid a babel of eloquence, endowed Spain with a new constitution utterly foreign to Spanish ideals and tradition, and reformed on paper the whole of Spanish life from top to bottom. With the war raging in most parts of the country, the 184 members, mostly self-nominated busybodies, were in no sense representative of the people, and the constitution of Cadiz gave to the country at their instance a code of government which even to-day would be too advanced to be safely intrusted to almost any nation. The nation was sovereign, and a one-chamber parliament was to be supreme, with manhood suffrage and equal electoral districts; but, above all, the relations between the sovereign and the state were radically altered, and the power of the king reduced to a shadow.

This was flying in the face of both monarch and people, neither of whom had been consulted in the change; and when Fernando came back from exile at the end of the war (1814), he found that he might safely sweep away by a sovereign decree the acts of all those who had governed the country in his absence. He did so with all the accompaniments of harshness and cruelty, but though the ignorant crowd applauded, it was ill done. The new constitution had been unconstitutionally made, and was a violation of the king's rights and of the national traditions. It was unworkable under the circumstances, and Fernando might well have insisted upon the modification of its provisions; but to have ignored all that the country had done and suffered while he was basely cringing to the enemy was a political crime and ingratitude of the worst description. To hope to return to the days when Spaniards were simply "dear vassals" proved that Fernando was unfit to govern at all. But so far as pen and ink could do it, he blotted out the six years' labour and sacrifice of a nation. All those who were in favour of reform went to the scaffold, the dungeon, or to exile. This gave reason for violent rebellion,

and equally violent reaction, throughout his miserable reign. There were faults on both sides. The king was vindictive, jealous, and cruel; his opponents were violent, wordy, and insolent. But the crowd was on the side of the monarch, and for the next twenty years the dark curtain fell upon Spain. All the old abuses were re-enacted, ignorance and bigotry were supreme, and all that was best and brightest in the Spanish race sighed and suffered in exile for the sorrows of their country.

But for all the fanaticism and obscurantism of the king's methods, for all the discouragement of the priests, modern ideas could not be prevented entirely from penetrating Spain, and before Fernando's death the thinking and educated middle classes were indignantly asking why Spaniards should be the only people in Europe who were denied any voice in the management of their own affairs, either national or local. The movement for moderate concessions to the people received great impetus from the circumstances of the king's last years. He had married as his fourth wife Maria Cristina of Naples, and before his health failed had only by her two daughters, and no other children. We have seen that by the old law the crown of Castile could pass to women, but Philip V had by decree introduced the French Salic rule. For reasons of a family character, Charles IV had on his accession (1789) ordered the Cortes to pass a resolution asking him to abolish the Salic law and restore the old Castilian succession. This had been done by the Cortes secretly, but the king had never issued the decree, and the matter was forgotten. The king's heir was therefore, as the law stood, his brother Don Carlos, who had made himself the leader of the ultra-obscurantists, and around him were grouped those who wished for a refusal of all concessions and the perpetuation of the simple despotism of the past. Fernando's young wife, anxious for her daughter's interest, prevailed upon the king to revive the old petition of the Cortes to his father, and to abolish the Salic

law. The king was in bad health, devoted to his wife, and did as he was asked. Thereupon followed an extraordinary set of intrigues round his deathbed, in which first one party triumphed and then the other. As all the extreme priestly and conservative elements were on the side of Don Carlos, it is obvious that Cristina and her infant could only look to the reformers for support, and these took heart, believing that if they placed the young queen upon the throne an era of constitutional liberty would be open to Spain. This was the position of affairs when Fernando VII died, in September, 1833. In his black and ignorant reign all Spain had receded. Personal liberty was a dead letter, the Inquisition was restored, though it was but a shadow of its old self, the whole of South America and Mexico had shaken off for good the corrupt and effete rule of a monarch so powerless and contemptible, and the majority of the Spanish nation had now made up its mind that the time had finally gone by for this travesty of the obsolete system of Philip II to be continued.

It was indeed time for a change, for the reign of Fernando had been a national nightmare, broken only once (1820) by the short domination of extravagant radicalism. The only commerce that flourished now was contraband, the roads were overrun with robbers, the national expenditure and revenue were considerably less than they had been twenty years before, and everything was backward and stunted.

In the eyes of the Spanish people, therefore, it was not a question only as to whether the crown should pass to Don Carlos or his niece, according to this or the other rule of succession, but a struggle between the continuance of a benighted system which had produced such lamentable results, and a frank acknowledgment of modern conditions and a determination to bring Spain into the circle of progressive nations. It might be imagined that if this were the issue very few would have been found to fight on the side of obscurantism, as represented by Don Carlos; but, as will have been

gathered by a perusal of this book, there were special circumstances which gave to the struggle a different character from that which it would have assumed in any other country. The rash and violent measures adopted by the inexperienced liberals on the two occasions upon which they had been paramount (1812 and 1820) had alarmed all vested interests and many timid citizens; the Church was still extremely powerful, and dreaded a revolutionary *régime*; and, finally, most important of all, the ideal of the reformers was a rigid centralization, copied from France, which was directly contrary to the traditions of a large portion of Spain. Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Navarre, and the Basque provinces were racially and traditionally distinct from Castile. The three former had been conquered and crushed, but they had not forgotten their ancient autonomy, and were bitterly jealous of centralizing Castile.

The civil war that for the next six years desolated Spain was therefore not only a fight of the queen against her uncle, or of the new ideas against the old, but a renewal of the ancient feud between a centralized and a federal system which from the birth of the Spanish nation had divided the peoples that composed it. Thus, broadly speaking, the queen had on her side the liberals and the realms of Castile, while Don Carlos had the priests and the north and east. Of the infinite and intricate political chicanery that took place during the progress of the war and afterward it is not necessary to give an account here, except in so far as will mark the change that took place in the views of the people. The queen regent, although she had necessarily to look to reformers alone for support, was as desirous as Don Carlos himself to retain unimpaired the despotic power of the crown; but she was soon made to understand that such an attitude was impossible, and then, unwillingly, she gave to Spain by decree (1834) a new constitution, avoiding most of the danger points of the constitution of Cadiz, and establishing a two-chambered legisla-

ture with a high qualification, but whose only right was that of petition to the crown! Again vehement eloquence and inexperienced impatience swept away this mockery of concession (1836), and the revolutionary constitution of 1812 was once more declared, to be succeeded in the following year by another attempt to draft a constitution that should be a compromise between the rights of the crown and the people.*

In this state of instability, with the fortune of war changing from week to week, the queen regent distrusted and discredited, there arose, for the first time in Spain, an evil which for the next fifty years was to be its bane. While intriguing, experimental politicians were wrangling about rival constitutions, the ambitious generals who were fighting the Carlists thought that the time was ripe for them to assert themselves. The Carlist cause was practically defeated in 1839, mainly in consequence of the sheer exhaustion of the country and the defection of a portion of the pretender's army, and the liberal general who had been most conspicuous in giving the *coup de grace* to the revolt, Espartero, promptly took occasion to bring the queen regent to book. She had shown throughout the distracting events of the last six years that, though she was forced to accept the various constitutions, she had no intention of carrying them out honestly. She had allowed the "moderates" to dissolve Cortes as often as they liked till they got an assembly to suit them, and when this was the case they proceeded to undermine as fast as they could the constitutional edifice.

The crisis between Espartero and the queen regent came fittingly on the question of municipal liberties, the germ and foundation of all Spanish public life. The Cortes of 1812 had restored to all towns and villages the full autonomy which had been allowed to decay during the dark days of Spain; the queen and her friends unconstitutionally endeavoured to abol-

* This was confessedly an adaptation of the English Reform Act of 1832.

ish most of these highly prized rights; and Espartero, the idol of the army, became the champion of the towns. The regent fled to France before a revolution, and Espartero ruled in the name of the young queen (1840). Thenceforward the evil example was followed; revolution by one general meant reaction under another. The ascent of the radicals to power meant the proscription and persecution of the moderates, and *vice versa*; and all Spain fell a prey for years to turbulent political vociferation, in which vehement words were accepted on all sides as glorious deeds, and intolerance on the one side was repaid by persecution on the other. Lawlessness and anarchy once again spread over the country; the dictator of one week became the fugitive of the next; packed and bribed parliaments passed laws which no one regarded or respected; dissolution followed dissolution, until the party in power was satisfied with the Cortes elected; and through it all the young queen showed that she was as unstable and shifty as her forbears. She owed her crown to a liberal revolutionary movement, yet she distrusted a system which, whenever it was in power, endeavoured to reduce her prerogative to a shadow; and she lost no opportunity of favouring those who would have altogether excluded her from the succession if they had been able. Nor was this the only distracting element. A consistently conservative sovereign would have been easy to deal with, but Isabel II often changed her ministers capriciously, as her father had done. Her private life and character were not exemplary, and advisers, good, bad, and indifferent, were frequently chosen from mere whim or from personal motives even less excusable. From extreme radical to ultraconservative the queen swayed from day to day, but cunningly managing generally to allow the latter the right of dissolution. Thus Spain continued to live disgracefully, permanent deficits being established, instead of predicted surpluses, year by year. Corruption reigned supreme in all the public services, from palace to police station; and at last the long-suffer-

ing country in 1856 welcomed the success of a military rising of O'Donnell, which included all moderate politicians, and was strong enough on a nonparty basis to dictate terms to the queen on the threat of the loss of her crown.

For the next few years Spain prospered exceedingly, for O'Donnell took the tide at the flood and devoted all his energies to the material improvement of the country. The introduction of railways and the rapid increase of wealth in Europe reached Spain. Vast quantities of clergy lands in mortmain were sold—by a compromise with the Pope—and the proceeds were employed in national works, which in most respects brought Spain to a level with other cultured countries. Extraordinary strides were made in the bulk of trade done, the exports and imports doubling in ten years, and the population increased at the rate of a quarter of a million a year.* Most of the objectionable imposts on trade and industry had now been removed, and if the people had been allowed to exist without political disturbance Spain might even then have laid the solid foundations she needed for the national superstructure.

But the curse of the eloquent politician had descended upon her. As had happened so many times in her history, vehemence and overfloridness dominated her literature and her politics, and in the scramble for place and the wrangles of rival empirics the interests of the country were forgotten. The queen herself went from bad to worse, following no consistent political course, but generally favouring unconstitutionally the extreme conservatives. Widespread disgust was the result, and the liberals, in despair now of any constitutional remedy, became revolutionaries.

In September, 1868, the blow fell. The fleet at Cadiz declared for the revolution, and the most popular generals landed from exile and led the army against the queen. Isabel crossed the French frontier, a fugitive, to return a queen no more, and

* The population was 15,675,000 in 1860.

at last the long-drawn agony of dissolution was finished; the decay of the institutions founded on a false basis by Ferdinand the Catholic and the emperor was consummated, the last surviving relic of the old times, the semisacred crown of Castile, had finally lost its magic, and was a mere bauble in the hands of soldiers, to be sold to the highest bidder. The fall was utter, the disintegration complete.

The revolution had destroyed, but, in order to avoid division among its supporters, it had made no plans for rebuilding. A period of anarchy was the result. Monarchical candidates, royal and otherwise, sprang up by the dozen, each small section of the revolutionists having its favourite. The republican leaders alone had a concrete programme, but the difficulty in their case was that in the rank and file of the Spanish people there were no political republicans at all. The *doctrinaire* republicans, members of the professional classes mostly, were well-meaning, law-abiding gentlemen, who had studied the history of the English commonwealth, and were well acquainted with republican France; but the crowd who followed them were moved by different thoughts. Their idea of a republic was, in most cases, a communistic federation of autonomous states, and their motives were social and industrial jealousy, and the eternal separatist tendency which is the characteristic of the Spanish peoples.

At last a foreign king, Amadeo, Duke of Aosta, was brought by the strongest monarchical section of the revolutionists. He was honest, brave, and a gentleman, and did his best; but he was a foreigner, and as such was the mock of the very beggars in the street. Rather than act by the advice of his ministers, in violation of the limited monarchical constitution which he had sworn to respect, he gladly retired from his impossible task (1873) and left Spain to find another ruler. Through all this and the succeeding political anarchy the country advanced rapidly in wealth, industry, and enlightenment. The nation lived, and still lives, its life, with but

little regard for the vagaries of political changes. A moderate liberal constitution had now secured to the people perfect personal liberty and full scope for the development of the nation, materially and intellectually, without hindrance; and it cannot be too often repeated that, apart from the harm done by the wasteful and inefficient public services and the system of political spoils, the contemptible governments in Madrid do not represent the condition of the people or exert much influence over the national life.

To Amadeo succeeded the republic, each development of it being more extravagant than its predecessor, until one wise president, Castelar, understood that the first duty of any government was to suppress anarchy. The Carlists were holding the north, and the federal republicans had proclaimed the autonomous independence of various districts. It is still a question whether the highest wisdom would not counsel the recognition of the root idea of so many Spaniards, and frankly establish a federal system of autonomous states, either under a monarchy or a republic; but there are many considerations, principally fiscal, which make such a solution difficult, and it was clearly Castelar's first duty at the moment to re-establish the rule of law. Thus it was that the republicans crushed the republic, and the soldier became once more supreme. The result was inevitable. The army gave short shrift to all the warring sections of republicans who had failed, and restored to the throne the boy Alfonso, only son of the fugitive Isabel II.

The young king came back, not as a sovereign by divine right, but as the elective head of a limited constitutional monarchy. His coming was no triumph for reaction, for he was in the hands of wise mentors, who wished well for Spain, and to the credit of the Spanish nation be it said, it accepted the position with sympathy, dignity, and patriotism. The Carlists were again and finally beaten, and then Spain resumed her toilsome but salutary upward way. The constitu-

tion as it was then settled, and as it was amended in 1890, gives ample political power to the people, if it were not for the widespread corruption of the political and bureaucratic classes. The oldest of Spanish institutions, the town councils, is not lost sight of, and elects a number of members to the senate. A full system of local government also exists, on the old lines sanctioned by tradition, of towns, communes, districts, and provinces.

At last, under Alfonso XII, the work of organizing Spain in the way demanded by its traditions was commenced, and, as a result, the country made giant strides in all peaceful and useful directions. The young king unfortunately died in 1886, leaving his widow, Maria Cristina of Austria, as regent for her unborn son, the present king. Under her rule the same course has been followed. Liberalism and conservatism mean but little to the people at large; an understanding exists between the two political parties that an equitable alternation of office and plunder shall make matters comfortable for both. The thunder on both sides is hollow and harmless. All the nation asks is to be left alone to overtake the time wasted in the past. Administrative corruption exists still, and will continue to exist until gradually education shall have reached the constituents, and the demand for honesty shall be made in tones of united authority. The loss of the colonies in the last war with America must not be accepted as a sign of fresh decadence in the nation, but as the natural result of the political and administrative dishonesty which itself is the last dying remnant of the bad old times. The danger which still threatens Spain is the ineradicable tendency of certain regions to assert autonomy. The reasons at the base of this have been fully set forth in this book, and it will have been seen that they are rooted in the very origin of the peoples. Probably this will have to be faced and accepted in some form before the Spanish race assumes its permanent position among the reborn nations of the world.

The result, thus far, of the wise acceptance of the tradition of local units as the foundation of a national system of government in Spain has been most encouraging. Peace, security, and liberty have continued unbroken for many years. The national revenue has increased to £32,000,000 annually; the bulk of trade, import and export, has grown prodigiously, and is now about £62,000,000, four times what it was forty years ago. The population has risen to 17,500,000 souls, of whom 30 per cent are able to read and write, as against only 20 per cent in 1870. The artistic and literary advance has been as conspicuous as the material improvement. Artists such as Pradilla, Gisbert, Madrazo, and Fortuny can hold their own among those of any other nation in Europe; musicians such as Sarasate and Alvarez; supreme orators like Castelar; historians and philosophers like Melendez Pelayo, the late Canovas del Castillo, and a host of others as eminent; novelists as gifted as Perez Galdos, Juan Valera, and Palacio Valdes, prove, if proof were needed, that Spain has cast off her winding sheet and has entered again into the land of living nations.

The decay was long-drawn and terrible, for the rise of the empire was based upon a crime against nature and humanity, and retribution was exacted to the bitter end, amid suffering and sorrow unsoundable to generation after generation of innocent creatures. But the expiation for the errors of the past is now complete. Vicissitudes and misfortunes may still befall the Spanish people, for the virus of a vicious administration still remains to her; but, happen what may, Spain will need to go back no more to recommence her life anew, for now, after three centuries of wandering, her people are treading firmly and hopefully the path of progress, naturally leading from her primitive traditions to the higher level of an enlightened modern state.

## A. D. 1700 TO A. D. 1900

### *Summary of progress during this period*

This period may be considered as including an arrest of the national decay, succeeded by an era of apparent resuscitation, and finally the completion of the decline and the re-establishment of a new foundation for the national institutions. During the greater part of the eighteenth century the fresh vigour introduced into the life of the nation by the French and Italian monarchs and ministers gave a temporary strength, which at the time was regarded as a permanent revival. We see now that, great as the improvement was, it never reached below the surface of the national life, because the new French system completed rather than remedied the decay of the national governing system, substituting for it a pure despotism which was out of harmony with the traditions of a large portion of the nation, and made no attempt to revive, even in Castile, those local units of government upon which the monarchy in old times had depended. With the flight of the royal family and the occurrence of the Peninsular War the board was swept clean, and if wise counsels had prevailed a solid new edifice might then have been erected. But the impatience and folly of the Cortes and reformers in endeavouring entirely to reconstruct from foreign models the whole of the national institutions, and radically to alter the position of the sovereign toward the state, again foredoomed their efforts to failure, and the return of the country to the darkest despotism under Fernando VII was the natural result. The period of anarchy and dissolution that followed his death again left the path open on the accession of Alfonso XII (1874) to commence the journey anew. This was fortunately and wisely done by again bringing the local units into the scheme of national government, with the result that the nation, as apart from the corrupt bureaucracy, has entered into a full new life, and with the exception of one possible cause for future trouble, referred to in the text, appears to have before it a happy and prosperous future.

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### *Summary of what Spain did for the world in this period*

The greater part of the eighteenth century was spent by Spain in war, and the contributions of the people to civilization in that

period are small. During the reign of Charles III there was considerable literary activity, and especially in the direction of political and economical science; but it mostly took the form of introducing to Spain the ideas already current in France and England. How far Spain served the world in securing the temporary suppression of the Jesuits may be an open question; but it is undoubted that by expelling them from Spain and South America a blow was struck by Charles III at their political power from which they are never likely to recover. The real contribution of Spain to the world commences with the outbreak against the French that led to the Peninsular War. The splendid heroism displayed by the people touched the heart of Europe as a sublime example of loyalty and devotion, and there is no doubt that it contributed greatly to strengthen the monarchical feeling in other countries. Spain initiated, moreover, the movement which ultimately destroyed the Napoleonic danger, and for this alone the debt of the world to them is great. The exiles to England and France during the tyranny of Fernando also did much to give to European literature of the thirties and forties the romantic turn which became the special mark of the period. Since then the influence of Spanish art and letters upon other countries has been small, and Spain has, with the exception of some slight action upon French painting, usually taken literary and artistic tone from other countries instead of striking out a new line for herself.

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WITHIN the limits of an appendix it is impossible to give a bibliography of Spanish history even approaching adequacy, much less completeness. The author is nevertheless desirous of furnishing a list of books useful to students wishing to extend their knowledge of particular periods or subjects which have of necessity been treated summarily in the present work. For the facts of the national history such students may be referred to the bibliography contained in the author's Spain, 1479–1788, and to the list of authorities given in Burke's History of Spain to the Death of Ferdinand the Catholic, edited by Martin Hume; while for the historical details of primitive and Roman Spain the works of Strabo, Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, Livy, Lucan, Polybius, Silius Italicus, and the modern historians of Rome should be consulted. The following list is confined to works, for the most part easily accessible, dealing with the development of the Spanish people, their institutions, industries, and civilization.

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NOTE.—Where no date of publication is given it may be assumed that the work referred to has been recently published and is still current.